POLITICS IN INDIA SINCE INDEPENDENCE

TEXTBOOK IN POLITICAL SCIENCE FOR CLASS XII

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FOREWORD

The National Curriculum Framework (NCF) 2005 recommends that children's life at school must be linked to their life outside the school. This principle marks a departure from the legacy of bookish learning which continues to shape our system and causes a gap between the school, home and community. The syllabi and textbooks developed on the basis of NCF signify an attempt to implement this basic idea. They also attempt to discourage rote learning and the maintenance of sharp boundaries between different subject areas. We hope these measures will take us significantly further in the direction of a child-centred system of education outlined in the National Policy on Education (1986).

The success of this effort depends on the steps that school principals and teachers will take to encourage children to reflect on their own learning and to pursue imaginative activities and questions. We must recognise that, given space, time and freedom, children generate new knowledge by engaging with the information passed on to them by adults. Treating the prescribed textbook as the sole basis of examination is one of the key reasons why other resources and sites of learning are ignored. Inculcating creativity and initiative is possible if we perceive and treat children as participants in learning, not as receivers of a fixed body of knowledge.

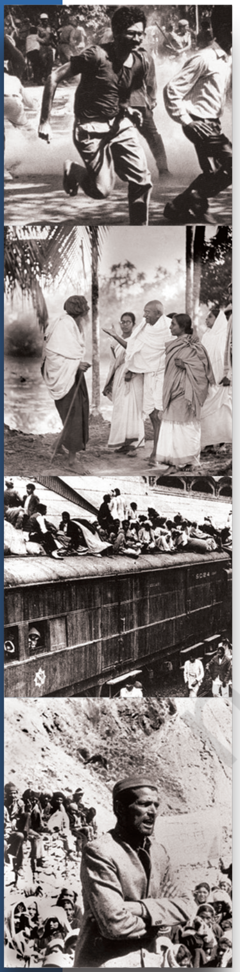
These aims imply considerable change in school routines and mode of functioning. Flexibility in the daily time-table is as necessary as rigour in implementing the annual calendar so that the required number of teaching days is actually devoted to teaching. The methods used for teaching and evaluation will also determine how effective this textbook proves for making children's life at school a happy experience, rather than a source of stress or boredom. Syllabus designers have tried to address the problem of curricular burden by restructuring and reorienting knowledge at different stages with greater consideration for child psychology and the time available for teaching. The textbook attempts to enhance this endeavour by giving higher priority and space to opportunities for contemplation and wondering, discussion in small groups, and activities requiring hands-on experience.

NCERT appreciates the hard work done by the textbook development committee responsible for this book. We wish to thank the Chairperson of the Advisory Group on Social Science, Professor Hari Vasudevan and the Chief Advisors for this book, Shri Yogendra Yadav and Professor Suhas Palshikar for guiding the work of this committee. Several teachers contributed to the development of this textbook; we are grateful to their Principals for making this possible. We are indebted to the institutions and organisations which have generously permitted us to draw upon their resources, material and personnel. We are especially grateful to the members of the National Monitoring

Committee, appointed by the Department of Secondary and Higher Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development under the Chairpersonship of Professor Mrinal Miri and Professor G. P. Deshpande, for their valuable time and contribution. As an organisation committed to systemic reform and continuous improvement in the quality of its products, NCERT welcomes comments and suggestions which will enable us to undertake further revision and refinement.

Director
National Council of Educational
Research and Training

New Delhi
20 December 2006



LETTER TO THE READERS

As India completes sixty years as an independent and democratic country, it is time to look back and reflect on this period. So much of the trends and patterns of our politics as well as the strengths and weaknesses of our democracy have been shaped during these six decades. Yet it is surprising how little the younger citizens of our country know about this history. You would have a good idea of the freedom struggle because you study that in the History textbooks. You would also know something about our contemporary politics from the media. But very few young citizens know much about the period that connects the freedom movement to contemporary politics. This is the gap the present book seeks to fill. It tells you the story of the journey of our democracy during the last sixty years so that you can make sense of the political reality that surrounds all of us.

This book is not a chronicle of all or even main events during the past six decades. We have tried to weave the history of the last sixty years around some major issues and themes. The first eight chapters of the book cover a certain period of this history, but in a selective manner by focussing on one issue or theme that dominated those years. The final chapter offers an overview of various issues that have emerged in the most recent period.

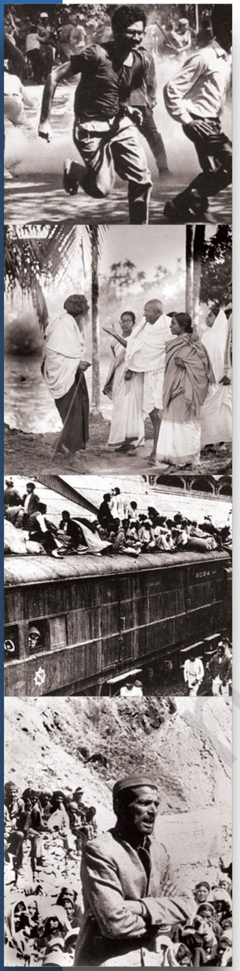
Politics is often understood as a power game played by some big leaders. Politics is, of course, about power. But politics is also about taking collective decisions, about sorting out differences, about reaching consensus. That is why we simply cannot run our collective affairs without politics. Similarly, big leaders no doubt influence the course of politics. But politics is much more than a story of individual ambitions and frustrations. That is why you will not find much emphasis on personalities in this book. You will find some biographical sketches so as to give you a rich sense of those times. But we do not expect you to memorise these biographical details.

In order to give you a feel of the times, we have included many photographs, cartoons, maps and other images. As in other books, Unni and Munni are there to share their innocent yet irreverent questions and comments with you. By now you know that what Unni and Munni say is not the opinion of the textbook. You, and even the authors, may or may not agree with Unni and Munni. But you should, like them, begin to question everything.

This book refrains from passing judgement on events and personalities of this period. The objective of this book is to equip you with information and perspectives so that you can take more informed and well thought out positions on politics, either as students of Political Science or as citizens of the country. That is why we tell the story in an open-ended and non-partisan manner. This has not been easy, for there is no way a book like this can side-step all the 'controversial' issues. Many of the significant issues of this period were and continue to be subjects of deep political differences.

The Team that prepared this book decided to follow certain norms to ensure non-partisan treatment of the subject. Firstly, it presents more than one viewpoint when dealing with controversial subjects. Secondly, wherever available, it uses authentic sources like the reports of various Commissions or court judgements, to reconstruct crucial details. Thirdly, it uses a variety of sources from scholarly writings to different newspapers and magazines, etc. to tell the story. Fourthly, the book avoids detailed discussion of the role of political leaders who are still active in politics.

Writing this textbook turned out to be particularly challenging for we do not have sufficient information on this period. Most of the archival material is still closed to the researchers. There are not many standard histories of this period that a textbook like this can draw upon. The Textbook Development Committee turned this challenge into an opportunity. We are grateful to the Team members who spared their valuable time for preparing the drafts of the various chapters. We would like to place on record our gratitude to Professors Rekha Chowdhary and Surinder Jodhka for contributing drafts for the sections on Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab respectively.



Given the significance and the sensitive nature of the book, it was decided to put the drafts through many rounds of scrutiny by a group of Political Scientists and historians. We decided to request three 'readers' – Dr. Ramchandra Guha, Professor Sunil Khilnani and Dr. Mahesh Rangarajan – to read an early draft of this text for accuracy and non-partisan treatment of the subject. We are very grateful that all of them accepted our request and took out time to read and comment on the drafts. Their remarks encouraged us; their suggestions saved us from many errors. We owe a special debt to Ramchandra Guha, since we have liberally drawn upon his book, *India after Gandhi*. Dr. Philip Oldenberg also read parts of the book and made valuable comments. We were fortunate in having a group of eminent scholars, Professors Mrinal Miri, G.P. Deshpande and Gopal Guru, who constituted a special sub-committee of the National Monitoring Committee and read the book at least thrice. We wish to thank Professor Krishna Kumar, Director NCERT and Professor Hari Vasudevan, Chairperson, Advisory Committee for Textbooks, for their support, advice and guidance at different stages of this delicate project. We are also thankful to Professor Yash Pal for his interest in and support to this book.

We are thankful to Lokniti Programme of the CSDS, Delhi which for the last one year provided a home and resource base for the work on this textbook. Various memebers of the CSDS family who went out of their way to support this work include Sanjeer Alam, Avinash Jha,

Balaji Madiq and Himanshu Bhattacharya at Lokniti and Ravikant and Mohammad Qureshi at Sarai. We would also like to thank the authorities of the Philately Bureau, especially Kaveri Banerji and Niraj Kumar and Sandhya R. Kanneganti of Indian Postal Service, for helping us to access and allowing us to reproduce a large number of postal stamps; Milind Champanerkar for helping us in the selection of the films; Radhika Menon for critical inputs; Vipul Mudgal, Ritu and Dharamveer for helping us to access the rich collection of Hindustan Times Photo Library; Bhaanu Choube and Abhay Chhajalani for opening the archives of Nai Dunia; Rajendra Babu for helping us with clippings and images from The Hindu Library and authorities of the University of Michigan Library and Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi.

Alex George, Pankaj Pushkar, K. K. Kailash, and M. Manisha formed the backbone of the team that worked on this book in various ways – doing archival research, hunting for visuals, checking facts. But for their multi-faceted support, and especially the untiring devotion of Pankaj Pushkar, this book would not have been what it is. We are thankful to Anupama Roy for her generous help with proof reading. The look and feel of the book is the product of the artistic skills of Irfaan Khan, the creator of Unni-Munni, graphics and maps by ARK Grafix, and the aesthetic sensibility of Shweta Rao who designed the book. We thank them all for sharing the spirit of this project. We would like to place on record our gratitude to Shveta Uppal, Chief Editor, NCERT, who went beyond the call of her duty in working with this book, for her exemplary patience and professionalism.

This book is a tribute to the maturity of Indian democracy and is intended as a small contribution to enriching the democratic deliberations in our country. We sincerely hope that this book will be received in this spirit and will be useful not only for students of Political Science but also to a wider group of young citizens of our country.

Ujjwal Kumar Singh
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Suhas Palshikar and Yogendra Yadav
Chief Advisors

IF YOU WOULD LIKE TO KNOW MORE, READ...

Granville Austin.1999. *Working a Democratic Constitution: The Indian Experience*. Oxford University Press, Delhi.

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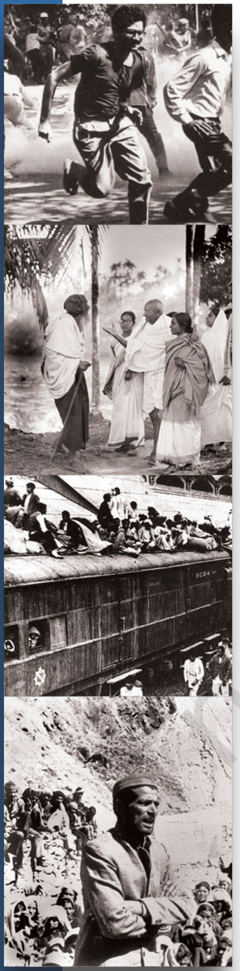

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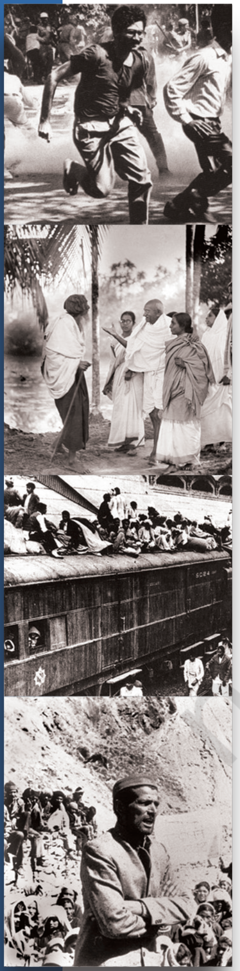

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In view of the COVID-19 pandemic, it is imperative to reduce content load on students. The National Education Policy 2020, also emphasises reducing the content load and providing opportunities for experiential learning with creative mindset. In this background, the NCERT has undertaken the exercise to rationalise the textbooks across all classes. Learning Outcomes already developed by the NCERT across classes have been taken into consideration in this exercise.

Contents of the textbooks have been rationalised in view of the following:

- Overlapping with similar content included in other subject areas in the same class
- Similar content included in the lower or higher class in the same subject
- Difficulty level
- Content, which is easily accessible to students without much interventions from teachers and can be learned by children through self-learning or peer-learning
- Content, which is irrelevant in the present context

This present edition is a reformatted version after carrying out the changes given above.

REQUEST FOR FEEDBACK

How did you like this textbook? What was your experience in reading or using this? What were the difficulties you faced? What changes would you like to see in the next version of this book?

Write to us on all these and any other matter related to the textbook. You could be a teacher, a parent, a student or just a general reader. We value any and every feedback.

Please write to:

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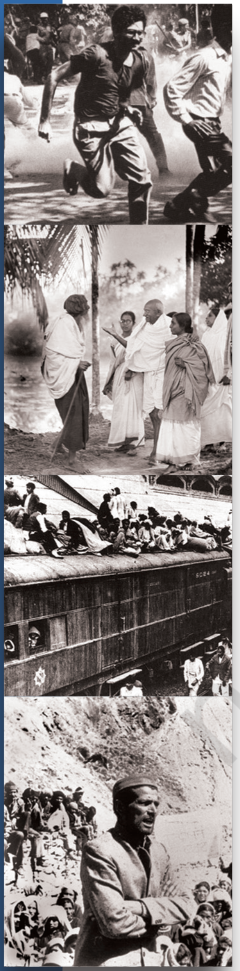

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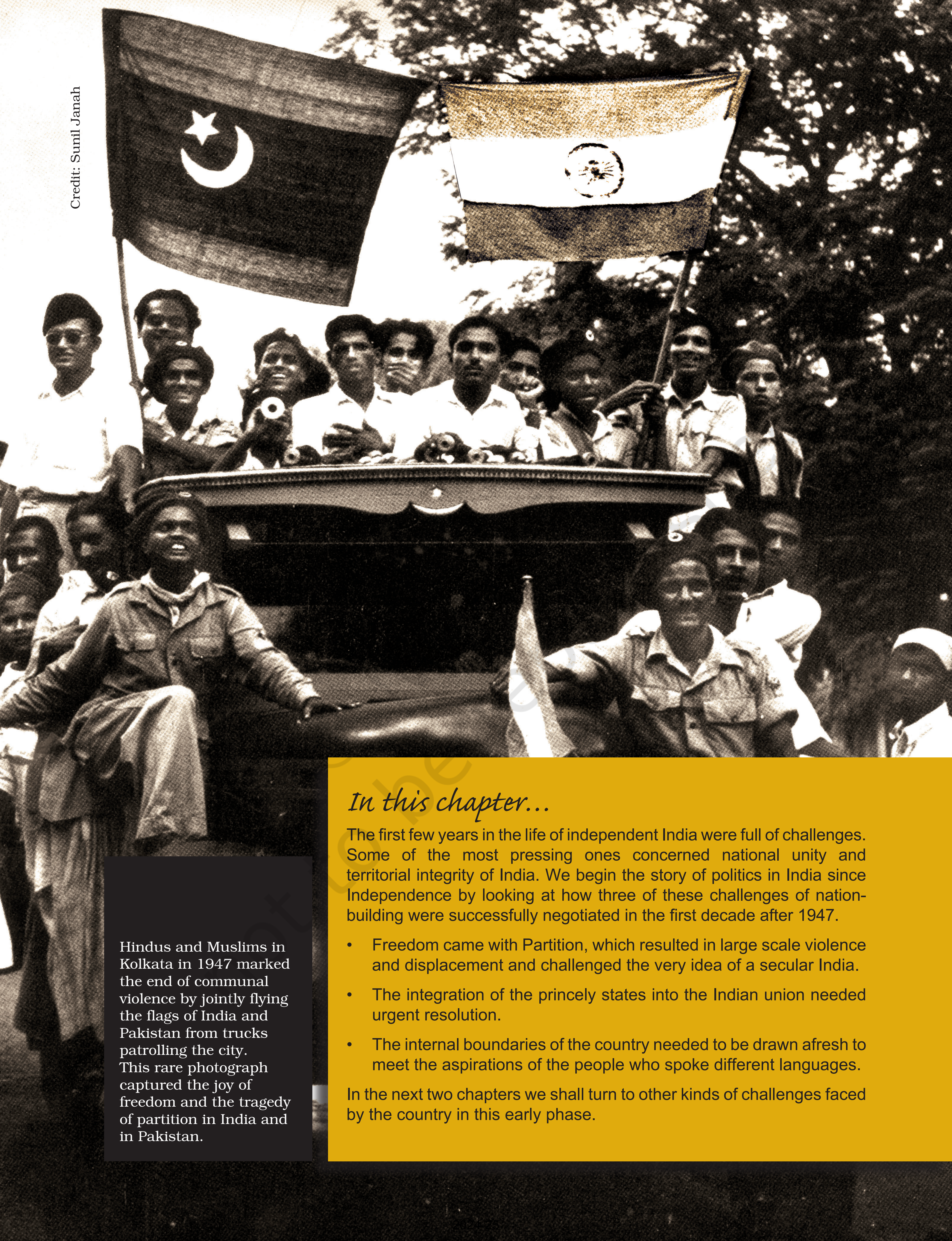

Credit: Sunil Janah

Hindus and Muslims in Kolkata in 1947 marked the end of communal violence by jointly flying the flags of India and Pakistan from trucks patrolling the city. This rare photograph captured the joy of freedom and the tragedy of partition in India and in Pakistan.

In this chapter...

The first few years in the life of independent India were full of challenges. Some of the most pressing ones concerned national unity and territorial integrity of India. We begin the story of politics in India since Independence by looking at how three of these challenges of nation-building were successfully negotiated in the first decade after 1947.

- Freedom came with Partition, which resulted in large scale violence and displacement and challenged the very idea of a secular India.
- The integration of the princely states into the Indian union needed urgent resolution.
- The internal boundaries of the country needed to be drawn afresh to meet the aspirations of the people who spoke different languages.

In the next two chapters we shall turn to other kinds of challenges faced by the country in this early phase.

CHAPTER 1

CHALLENGES OF NATION BUILDING

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Challenges for the new nation-state

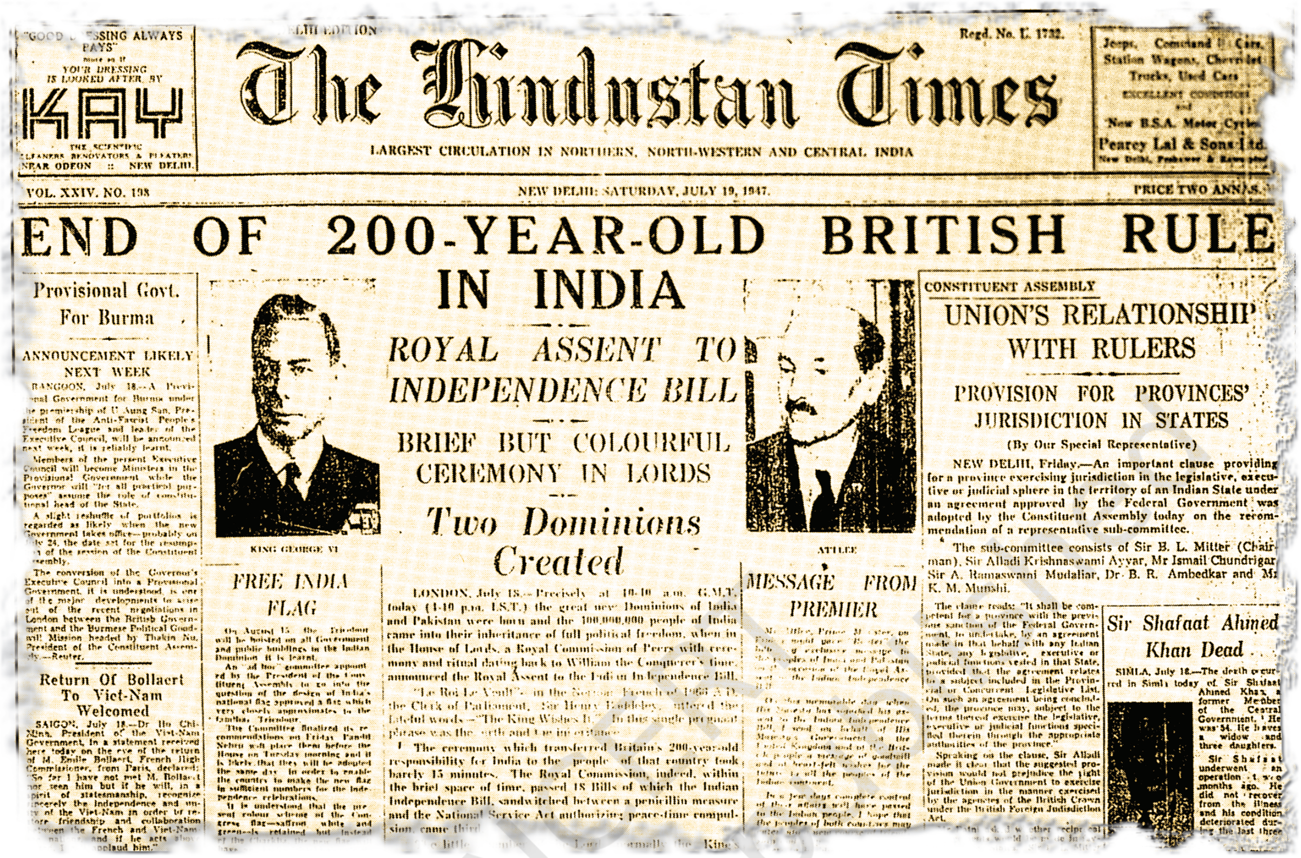
At the hour of midnight on 14-15 August 1947, India attained independence. Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of free India, addressed a special session of the Constituent Assembly that night. This was the famous 'tryst with destiny' speech that you are familiar with.

This was the moment Indians had been waiting for. You have read in your history textbooks that there were many voices in our national movement. But there were two goals almost everyone agreed upon: one, that after Independence, we shall run our country through democratic government; and two, that the government will be run for the good of all, particularly the poor and the socially disadvantaged groups. Now that the country was independent, the time had come to realise the promise of freedom.

This was not going to be easy. India was born as a nation-state in very difficult circumstances. Perhaps no other country by then was born in a situation more difficult than that of India in 1947. Freedom came with the partition of the country. The year 1947 was a year of unprecedented violence and trauma of displacement. It was in this situation that independent India started on its journey to achieve several objectives. Yet the turmoil that accompanied independence did not make our leaders lose sight of the multiple challenges that faced the new nation.

Credit: PIB

Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru speaking from the Red Fort, 15 August 1947



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YOUR DRESSING IS LOOKED AFTER BY
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DELHI EDITION

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VOL. XXIV. NO. 198 NEW DELHI: SATURDAY, JULY 19, 1947. PRICE TWO ANNAS.

END OF 200-YEAR-OLD BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

ROYAL ASSENT TO INDEPENDENCE BILL

BRIEF BUT COLOURFUL CEREMONY IN LORDS

Two Dominions Created

LONDON, July 18.—Precisely at 10-10 a.m. G.M.T. today (4-10 p.m. I.S.T.) the great new Dominions of India and Pakistan were born and the 400,000,000 people of India came into their inheritance of full political freedom, when in the House of Lords, a Royal Commission of Peers with ceremony and ritual dating back to William the Conqueror's time, announced the Royal Assent to the Indian Independence Bill.

"Le Roi Le Veult"—in the Norman French of 1066 A.D. the Clerk of Parliament, Sir Henry Badeley, uttered the fateful words—"The King Wishes It." In this single pregnant phrase was the birth and the inheritance.

The ceremony which transferred Britain's 200-year-old responsibility for India to the people of that country took barely 15 minutes. The Royal Commission, indeed, within the brief space of time, passed 18 Bills of which the Indian Independence Bill, sandwiched between a penicillin measure and the National Service Act authorizing peace-time compulsion, came third.

KING GEORGE VI

ATTLEE

Provisional Govt. For Burma

ANNOUNCEMENT LIKELY NEXT WEEK

RANGOON, July 18.—A Provisional Government for Burma under the premiership of U Aung San, President of the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League and leader of the Executive Council, will be announced next week, it is reliably learnt.

Members of the present Executive Council will become Ministers in the Provisional Government while the Governor will "for all practical purposes" assume the role of constitutional head of the State.

A slight reshuffle of portfolios is regarded as likely when the new Government takes office—probably on July 24, the date set for the resumption of the session of the Constituent Assembly.

The conversion of the Governor's Executive Council into a Provisional Government, it is understood, is one of the major developments to arise out of the recent negotiations in London between the British Government and the Burmese Political Goodwill Mission headed by Thakin Nu, President of the Constituent Assembly.—Reuter.

Return Of Bollaert To Viet-Nam Welcomed

SAIGON, July 18.—Dr Ho Chi-Minh, President of the Viet-Nam Government, in a statement received here today on the eve of the return of M. Emile Bollaert, French High Commissioner, from Paris, declared: "So far I have not met M. Bollaert nor seen him but if he will, in a spirit of statesmanship, recognize sincerely the independence and unity of the Viet-Nam in order to restore friendship and collaboration between the French and Viet-Nam nations, and if he acts above ... I applaud him."

FREE INDIA FLAG

MESSAGE FROM PREMIER

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

UNION'S RELATIONSHIP WITH RULERS

PROVISION FOR PROVINCES' JURISDICTION IN STATES

(By Our Special Representative)

NEW DELHI, Friday.—An important clause providing for a province exercising jurisdiction in the legislative, executive or judicial sphere in the territory of an Indian State under an agreement approved by the Federal Government was adopted by the Constituent Assembly today on the recommendation of a representative sub-committee.

The sub-committee consists of Sir B. L. Mitter (Chairman), Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, Mr Ismail Chundrigar, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Dr B. R. Ambedkar and Mr K. M. Munshi.

The clause reads: "It shall be competent for a province with the previous sanction of the Federal Government, to undertake, by an agreement made in that behalf with any Indian State, any legislative, executive or judicial functions vested in that State, provided that the agreement relates to a subject included in the Provincial or Concurrent Legislative List. On such an agreement being concluded, the province may, subject to the terms thereof exercise the legislative, executive or judicial functions specified therein through the appropriate authorities of the province."

Speaking on the clause, Sir Alladi made it clear that the suggested provision would not prejudice the right of the Union Government to exercise jurisdiction in the manner exercised by the agencies of the British Crown under the British Foreign Jurisdiction Act.

Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan Dead

SIMLA, July 18.—The death occurred in Simla today of Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan, a former Member of the Central Government. He was 54. He leaves a widow and three daughters.

Sir Shafaat underwent an operation two months ago. He did not recover from the illness and his condition deteriorated during the last three

Hindustan Times, 19 July 1947

Three Challenges

Broadly, independent India faced three kinds of challenges. The first and the immediate challenge was to shape a nation that was united, yet accommodative of the diversity in our society. India was a land of continental size and diversity. Its people spoke different languages and followed different cultures and religions. At that time it was widely believed that a country full of such kinds of diversity could not remain together for long. The partition of the country appeared to prove everyone's worst fears. There were serious questions about the future of India: Would India survive as a unified country? Would it do so by emphasising national unity at the cost of every other objective? Would it mean rejecting all regional and sub-national identities? And there was an urgent question: How was integration of the territory of India to be achieved?

The second challenge was to establish democracy. You have already studied the Indian Constitution. You know that the Constitution granted fundamental rights and extended the right to vote to every citizen. India adopted representative democracy based on the parliamentary form of government. These features ensure that the political competition would take place in a democratic framework.

> *Tomorrow we shall be free from the slavery of the British domination. But at midnight India will be partitioned. Tomorrow will thus be a day of rejoicing as well as of mourning.*
>
> ***Mahatma Gandhi***
> 14 August 1947,
> Kolkata.

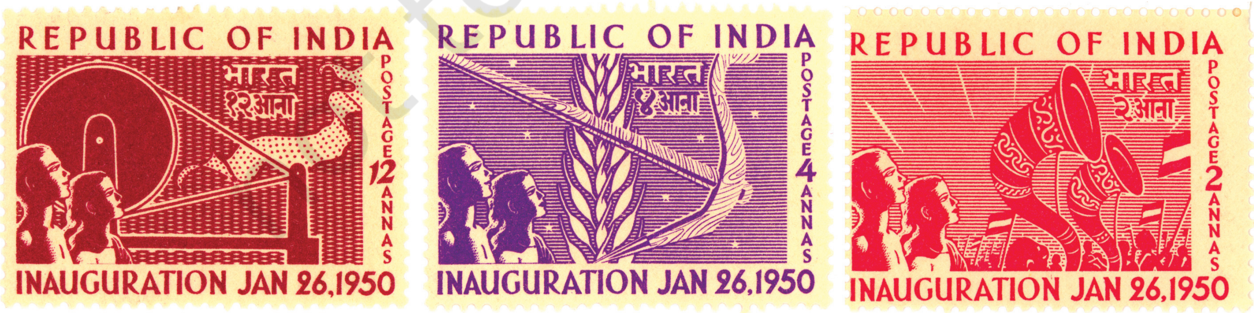
A democratic constitution is necessary but not sufficient for establishing a democracy. The challenge was to develop democratic practices in accordance with the Constitution.

The third challenge was to ensure the development and well-being of the entire society and not only of some sections. Here again the Constitution clearly laid down the principle of equality and special protection to socially disadvantaged groups and religious and cultural communities. The Constitution also set out in the Directive Principles of State Policy the welfare goals that democratic politics must achieve. The real challenge now was to evolve effective policies for economic development and eradication of poverty.

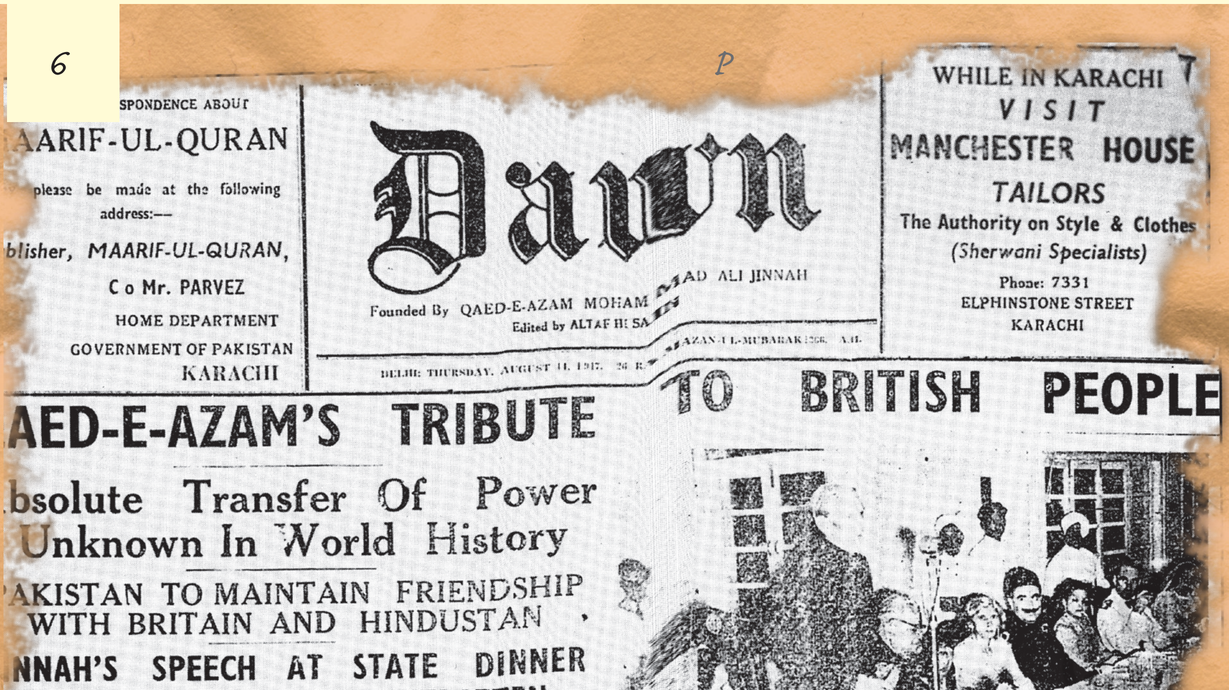
I always wanted a time machine, so that I can go back and participate in the celebrations of 15 August 1947. But this looks different from what I thought.

How did independent India respond to these challenges? To what extent did India succeed in achieving the various objectives set out by the Constitution? This entire book is an attempt to respond to these questions. The book tells the story of politics in India since Independence so as to equip you to develop your own answers to big questions like these. In the first three chapters we look at how the three challenges mentioned above were faced in the early years after Independence.

In this chapter, we focus on the first challenge of nation-building that occupied centre-stage in the years immediately after Independence. We begin by looking at the events that formed the context of Independence. This can help us understand why the issue of national unity and security became a primary challenge at the time of Independence. We shall then see how India chose to shape itself into a nation, united by a shared history and common destiny. This unity had to reflect the aspirations of people across the different regions and deal with the disparities that existed among regions and different sections of people. In the next two chapters we shall turn to the challenge of establishing a democracy and achieving economic development with equality and justice.



These three stamps were issued in 1950 to mark the first Republic Day on 26 January 1950. What do the images on these stamps tell you about the challenges to the new republic? If you were asked to design these stamps in 1950, which images would you have chosen?



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KARACHI

Dawn

Founded By QAED-E-AZAM MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH
Edited by ALTAF H: SA

DELHI: THURSDAY, AUGUST 14, 1947. 26 R AZAN-UL-MUBARAK 1366, A.H.

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bsolute Transfer Of Power
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AKISTAN TO MAINTAIN FRIENDSHIP
WITH BRITAIN AND HINDUSTAN

NNAH'S SPEECH AT STATE DINNER
TO LORD & LADY MOUNTBATTEN

KARACHI, Wednesday.

T WILL BE OUR ENDEAVOUR TO CREATE AND MAINTAIN GOODWILL AND FRIENDSHIP WITH RITAIN AND OUR NEIGHBOURING DOMINION—HINDUSTAN —ALONG WITH OTHER SISTER S SO THAT WE ALL TOGETHER MAY MAKE OUR GREATEST CONTRIBUTION FOR THE ND PROSPERITY OF THE WORLD", SAID QAED-E-AZAM JINNAH IN PROPOSING A TOAST AJESTY THE KING AT THE STATE DINNER GIVEN BY HIM IN HONOUR OF THE VISIT OF OY AND LADY MOUNTBATTEN.

Dawn, Karachi, 14 August 1947

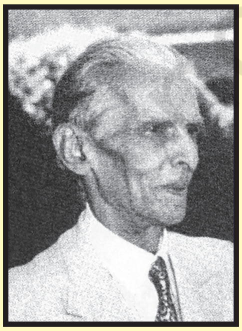
The Dawn of Freedom

Faiz Ahmed Faiz

This scarred, marred brightness,
this bitten-by-night dawn -
The one that was awaited, surely, this is not that dawn.
This is not the dawn yearning for which
Had we set out, friends, hoping to find
sometime, somewhere
The final destination of stars in the wilderness of the sky.
Somewhere, at least, must be a shore for the languid
waves of the night,
Somewhere at least must anchor the sad
boat of the heart …

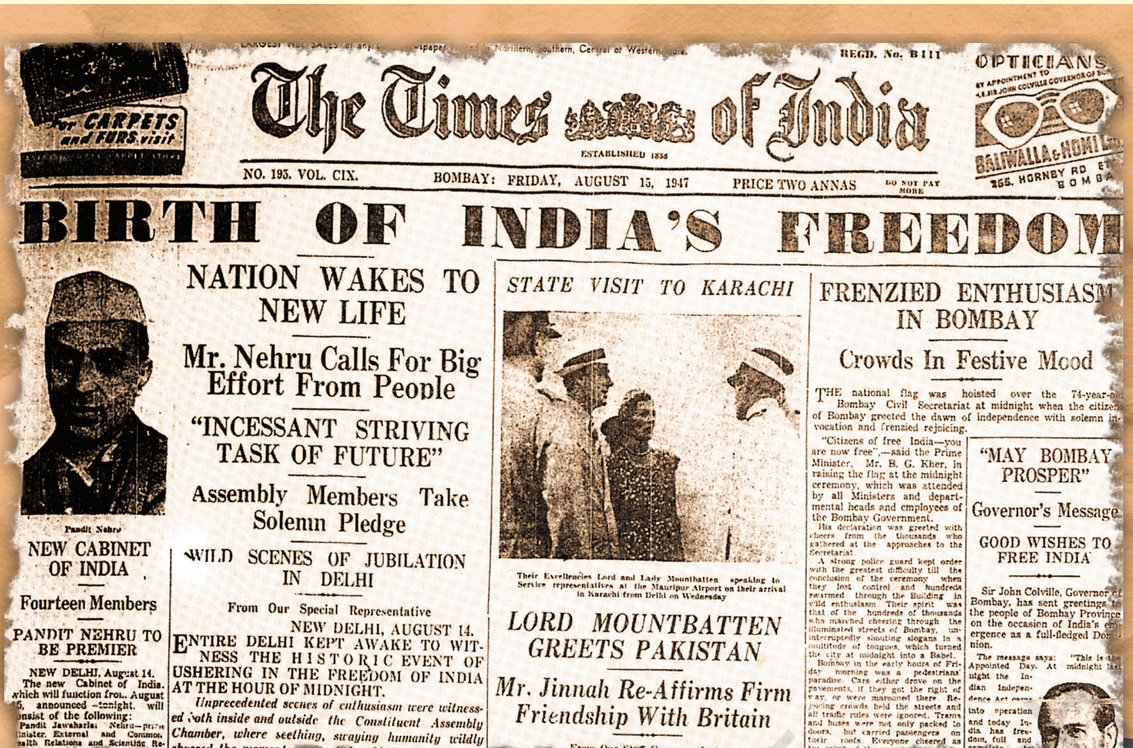
Translation of an extract from Urdu poem Subh-e-azadi

Faiz Ahmed Faiz (1911-1984) Born in Sialkot; stayed in Pakistan after Partition. A leftist in his political leanings, he opposed the Pakistani regime and was imprisoned. Collections of his poetry include Naksh-e-Fariyadi, Dast-e-Saba and Zindan-Nama. Regarded as one of the greatest poets of South Asia in the twentieth century.



We should begin to work in that spirit and in course of time all these angularities of the majority and minority communities, the Hindu community and the Muslim community – because even as regards Muslims you have Pathans, Punjabis, Shias, Sunnis and so on and among the Hindus you have Brahmins, Vaishnavas, Khatris, also Bengalees, Madrasis, and so on – will vanish. … You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed – that has nothing to do with the business of the State.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Presidential Address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan at Karachi, 11 August 1947.



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BIRTH OF INDIA'S FREEDOM

Pandit Nehru

NEW CABINET OF INDIA

Fourteen Members

PANDIT NEHRU TO BE PREMIER

NEW DELHI, August 14.
The new Cabinet of India, which will function from August 15, announced tonight, will consist of the following:
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru—prime Minister, External and Commonwealth Relations and Scientific Research.

NATION WAKES TO NEW LIFE

Mr. Nehru Calls For Big Effort From People

"INCESSANT STRIVING TASK OF FUTURE"

Assembly Members Take Solemn Pledge

WILD SCENES OF JUBILATION IN DELHI

From Our Special Representative

NEW DELHI, AUGUST 14.

ENTIRE DELHI KEPT AWAKE TO WITNESS THE HISTORIC EVENT OF USHERING IN THE FREEDOM OF INDIA AT THE HOUR OF MIDNIGHT.

Unprecedented scenes of enthusiasm were witnessed both inside and outside the Constituent Assembly Chamber, where seething, swaying humanity wildly cheered the momentous ... heralded with the blowing of conches

STATE VISIT TO KARACHI

Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Mountbatten speaking to Service representatives at the Mauripur Airport on their arrival in Karachi from Delhi on Wednesday

LORD MOUNTBATTEN GREETS PAKISTAN

Mr. Jinnah Re-Affirms Firm Friendship With Britain

From Our Staff Correspondent.

FRENZIED ENTHUSIASM IN BOMBAY

Crowds In Festive Mood

THE national flag was hoisted over the 74-year-old Bombay Civil Secretariat at midnight when the citizens of Bombay greeted the dawn of independence with solemn invocation and frenzied rejoicing.

"Citizens of free India—you are now free",—said the Prime Minister, Mr. B. G. Kher, in raising the flag at the midnight ceremony, which was attended by all Ministers and departmental heads and employees of the Bombay Government.

His declaration was greeted with cheers from the thousands who gathered at the approaches to the Secretariat.

A strong police guard kept order with the greatest difficulty till the conclusion of the ceremony when they lost control and hundreds swarmed through the Building in wild enthusiasm. Their spirit was that of the hundreds of thousands who marched cheering through the illuminated streets of Bombay, uninterruptedly shouting slogans in a multitude of tongues, which turned the city at midnight into a Babel.

Bombay in the early hours of Friday morning was a pedestrians' paradise. Cars either drove on the pavements, if they got the right of way, or were marooned there. Rejoicing crowds held the streets and all traffic rules were ignored. Trams and buses were not only packed to doors, but carried passengers on their roofs. Everyone cheered as the spirit of the occasion spread infectiously through

"MAY BOMBAY PROSPER"

Governor's Message

GOOD WISHES TO FREE INDIA

Sir John Colville, Governor of Bombay, has sent greetings to the people of Bombay Province on the occasion of India's emergence as a full-fledged Dominion.

The message says: "This is the Appointed Day. At midnight last night the Indian Independence Act came into operation and today India has freedom, full and complete,

The Times of India, Bombay, 15 August 1947

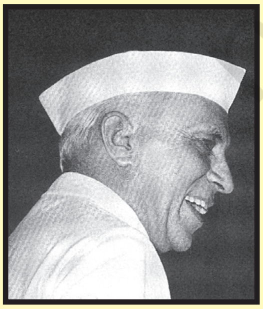
Today I call Waris Shah

Amrita Pritam

Today, I call Waris Shah, "Speak from your grave"
And turn, today, the book of love's next affectionate page
Once, a daughter of Punjab cried and you wrote a wailing saga
Today, a million daughters, cry to you, Waris Shah
Rise! O' narrator of the grieving; rise! look at your Punjab
Today, fields are lined with corpses, and blood fills the Chenab
Someone has mixed poison in the five rivers' flow
Their deadly water is, now, irrigating our lands galore
This fertile land is sprouting, venom from every pore
The sky is turning red from endless cries of gore
The toxic forest wind, screams from inside its wake
Turning each flute's bamboo-shoot, into a deadly snake …

Translation of an extract from a Punjabi poem "Aaj Akhan Waris Shah Nun"

Amrita Pritam (1919–2005): A prominent Punjabi poet and fiction writer. Recipient of Sahitya Akademi Award, Padma Shree and Jnanapeeth Award. After Partition she made Delhi her second home. She was active in writing and editing 'Nagmani' a Punjabi monthly magazine till her last.



We have a Muslim minority who are so large in numbers that they cannot, even if they want, go anywhere else. That is a basic fact about which there can be no argument. Whatever the provocation from Pakistan and whatever the indignities and horrors inflicted on non-Muslims there, we have got to deal with this minority in a civilised manner. We must give them security and the rights of citizens in a democratic State. If we fail to do so, we shall have a festering sore which will eventually poison the whole body politic and probably destroy it.

Jawaharlal Nehru, Letter to Chief Ministers, 15 October 1947.

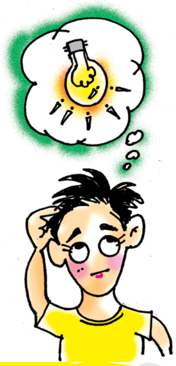
Partition: displacement and rehabilitation

On 14-15 August 1947, not one but two nation-states came into existence – India and Pakistan. This was a result of 'partition', the division of British India into India and Pakistan. The drawing of the border demarcating the territory of each country marked the culmination of political developments that you have read about in the history textbooks. According to the 'two-nation theory' advanced by the Muslim League, India consisted of not one but two 'people', Hindus and Muslims. That is why it demanded Pakistan, a separate country for the Muslims. The Congress opposed this theory and the demand for Pakistan. But several political developments in 1940s, the political competition between the Congress and the Muslim League and the British role led to the decision for the creation of Pakistan.

Process of Partition

Thus it was decided that what was till then known as 'India' would be divided into two countries, 'India' and 'Pakistan'. Such a division was not only very painful, but also very difficult to decide and to implement. It was decided to follow the principle of religious majorities. This basically means that areas where the Muslims were in majority would make up the territory of Pakistan. The rest was to stay with India.

The idea might appear simple, but it presented all kinds of difficulties. First of all, there was no single belt of Muslim majority areas in British India. There were two areas of concentration, one in the west and one in the east. There was no way these two parts could be joined. So it was decided that the new country, Pakistan, will comprise two territories, West and East Pakistan separated by a long expanse of Indian territory. Secondly, not all Muslim majority areas wanted to be in Pakistan. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, the undisputed leader of the North Western Frontier Province and known as 'Frontier Gandhi', was staunchly opposed to the two-nation theory. Eventually, his voice was simply ignored and the NWFP was made to merge with Pakistan.



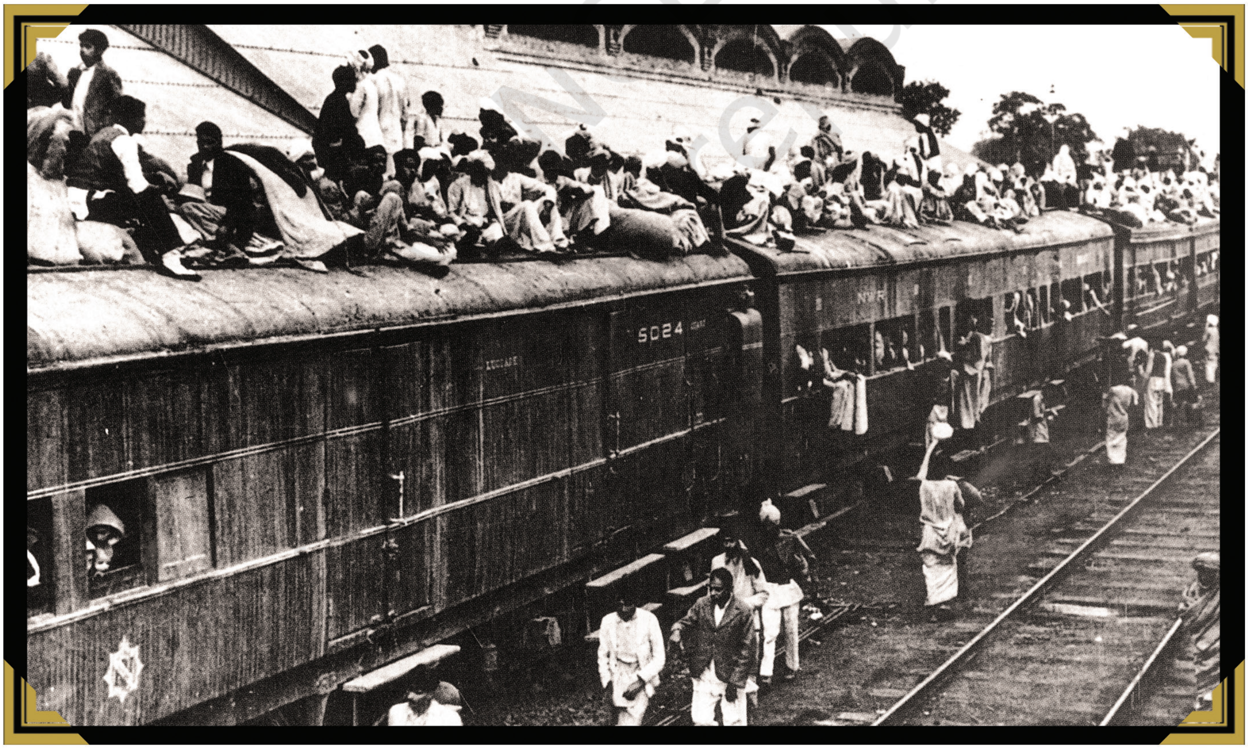
Oh, now I understand! What was 'East' Bengal has now become Bangladesh. That is why our Bengal is called 'West' Bengal!

The third problem was that two of the Muslim majority provinces of British India, Punjab and Bengal, had very large areas where the non-Muslims were in majority. Eventually it was decided that these two provinces would be bifurcated according to the religious majority at the district or even lower level. This decision could not be made by the midnight of 14-15 August. It meant that a large number of people did not know on the day of Independence whether they were in India or in Pakistan. The Partition of these two provinces caused the deepest trauma of Partition.

This was related to the fourth and the most intractable of all the problems of partition. This was the problem of 'minorities' on both sides of the border. Lakhs of Hindus and Sikhs in the areas that were now in Pakistan and an equally large number of Muslims on the Indian side of Punjab and Bengal (and to some extent Delhi and surrounding areas) found themselves trapped. They were to discover that they were undesirable aliens in their own home, in the land where they and their ancestors had lived for centuries. As soon as it became clear that the country was going to be partitioned, the violence started at an unprecedented level against communities who were lesser in number in their respective areas. No one had quite anticipated the scale of this problem. No one had any plans for handling this. Initially, the people and political leaders kept hoping that this violence was temporary and would be controlled soon. But very soon the violence went out of control. Such communities on both sides of the border were often compelled to leave their homes at a few hours' notice.

Consequences of Partition

The year 1947 was the year of one of the largest, most abrupt, unplanned and tragic transfer of population that human history has known. There were killings and atrocities on both sides of the border. In the name of religion people of one community ruthlessly killed and maimed people of the other community. Cities like Lahore,



Credit: DPA.

A train full of 'refugees' in 1947.

Hospitality Delayed

Saadat Hasan Manto

Rioters brought the running train to a halt. People belonging to the other community were pulled out and slaughtered with swords and bullets.

The remaining passengers were treated to halwa, fruits and milk.

The chief organiser said, 'Brothers and sisters, news of this train's arrival was delayed. That is why we have not been able to entertain you lavishly – the way we wanted to.'

Source: English translation of Urdu short story Kasre-Nafsi

Amritsar and Kolkata became divided into 'communal zones'. Muslims would avoid going into an area where mainly Hindus or Sikhs lived; similarly the Hindus and Sikhs stayed away from areas of Muslim predominance.

Forced to abandon their homes and move across borders, people went through immense sufferings. Minorities on both sides of the border fled their home and often secured temporary shelter in 'refugee camps'. They often found unhelpful local administration and police in what was till recently their own country. They travelled to the other side of the new border by all sorts of means, often by foot. Even during this journey they were often attacked, killed or raped. Thousands of women were abducted. They were made to convert to the religion of the abductor and were forced into marriage. In many cases women were killed by their own family members to preserve the 'family honour'. Many children were separated from their parents. Those who did manage to cross the border found that they had no home. For lakhs of these 'refugees' the country's freedom meant life in 'refugee camps', for months and sometimes for years.

Credit: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

Gandhi in Noakhali (now in Bangladesh) in 1947.

Writers, poets and film-makers in India and Pakistan have expressed the ruthlessness of the killings and the suffering of displacement and violence in their novels, short-stories, poems and films. While recounting the trauma of Partition, they have often used the phrase that the survivors themselves used to describe Partition — as a 'division of hearts'.

The Partition was not merely a division of properties, liabilities and assets, or a political division of the country and the administrative apparatus. What also got divided were the financial assets, and things like tables, chairs, typewriters, paper-clips, books and also musical instruments of the police band! The employees of the government and the railways were also 'divided'. Above all, it was a violent separation of communities who had hitherto lived together as neighbours. It is estimated that the Partition forced about 80 lakh people to migrate across the new border. Between five to ten lakh people were killed in Partition related violence.

Beyond the administrative concerns and financial strains, however, the Partition posed another deeper issue. The leaders of the Indian national struggle did not believe in the two-nation theory. And yet, partition on religious basis had taken place. Did that make India a Hindu nation automatically? Even after large scale migration of Muslims to the newly created Pakistan, the Muslim population in India accounted for 10-12 per cent of the total population in 1951. So, how would the government of India treat its Muslim citizens and other religious minorities (Sikhs, Christians, Jains, Buddhists, Parsis and Jews)? The Partition had already created severe conflict between the two communities.

There were competing political interests behind these conflicts. The Muslim League was formed to protect the interests of the Muslims in colonial India. It was in the forefront of the demand for a separate Muslim nation. Similarly, there were organisations, which were trying to organise the Hindus in order to turn India into a Hindu nation. But most leaders of the national movement believed that India must treat persons of all religions

Let's watch a Film

GARAM HAWA

Salim Mirza, a shoe manufacturer in Agra, increasingly finds himself a stranger amid the people he has lived with all his life. He feels lost in the emerging reality after Partition. His business suffers and a refugee from the other side of partitioned India occupies his ancestral dwelling. His daughter too has a tragic end. He believes that things would soon be normal again.

But many of his family members decide to move to Pakistan. Salim is torn between an impulse to move out to Pakistan and an urge to stay back. A decisive moment comes when Salim witnesses a students' procession demanding fair treatment from the government. His son Sikandar has joined the procession. Can you imagine what Mirza Salim finally did? What do you think you would have done in these circumstances?

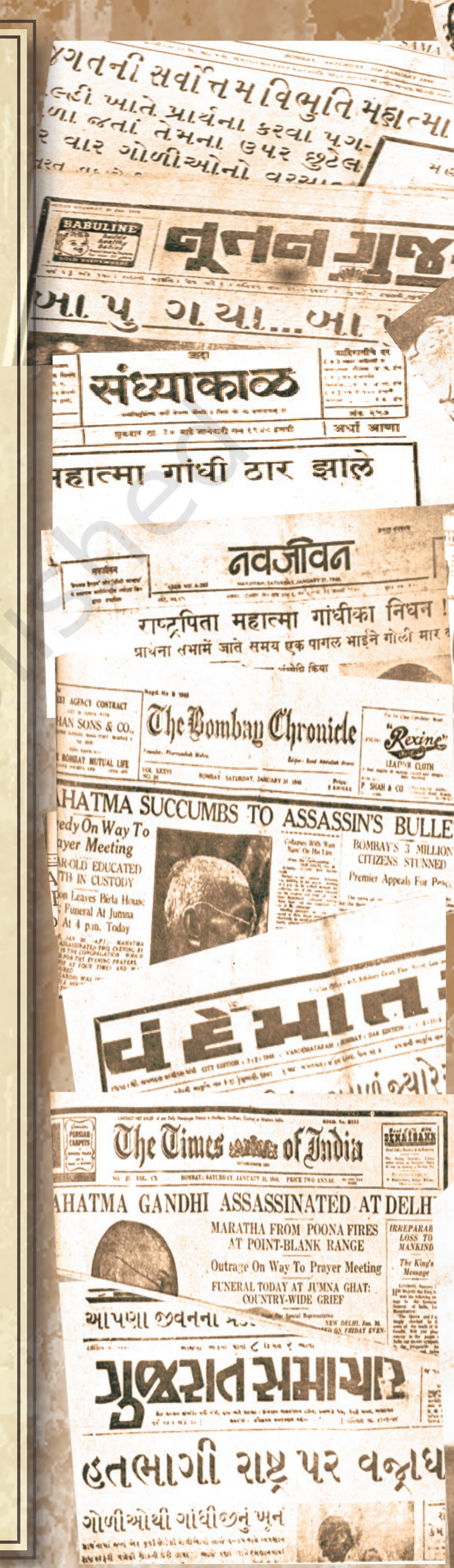
Year: 1973
Director: M.S. Sathyu
Screenplay: Kaifi Azmi
Actors: Balraj Sahani, Jalal Aga, Farouque Sheikh, Gita Siddharth

Mahatma Gandhi's sacrifice

On the 15th August 1947 Mahatma Gandhi did not participate in any of the Independence Day celebrations. He was in Kolkata in the areas which were torn by gruesome riots between Hindus and Muslims. He was saddened by the communal violence and disheartened that the principles of ahimsa (non-violence) and satyagraha (active but non-violent resistance) that he had lived and worked for, had failed to bind the people in troubled times. Gandhiji went on to persuade the Hindus and Muslims to give up violence. His presence in Kolkata greatly improved the situation, and the coming of independence was celebrated in a spirit of communal harmony, with joyous dancing in the streets. Gandhiji's prayer meetings attracted large crowds. But this was short lived as riots between Hindus and Muslims erupted once again and Gandhiji had to resort to a fast to bring peace.

Next month Gandhiji moved to Delhi where large scale violence had erupted. He was deeply concerned about ensuring that Muslims should be allowed to stay in India with dignity, as equal citizens. He was also concerned about the relations between India and Pakistan. He was unhappy with what he saw as the Indian government's decision not to honour its financial commitments to Pakistan. With all this in mind he undertook what turned out to be his last fast in January 1948. As in Kolkata, his fast had a dramatic effect in Delhi. Communal tension and violence reduced. Muslims of Delhi and surrounding areas could safely return to their homes. The Government of India agreed to give Pakistan its dues.

Gandhiji's actions were however not liked by all. Extremists in both the communities blamed him for their conditions. Despite this he continued to meet everyone during his prayer meetings. Finally, on 30 January 1948, one such extremist, Nathuram Vinayak Godse, walked up to Gandhiji during his evening prayer in Delhi and fired three bullets at him, killing him instantly. Thus ended a lifelong struggle for truth, non-violence, justice and tolerance.


संध्याकाळ

हात्मा गांधी ठार झाले

नवजीवन

राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधीका निधन !

The Bombay Chronicle

HATMA SUCCUMBS TO ASSASSIN'S BULLE

The Times of India

AHATMA GANDHI ASSASSINATED AT DELH

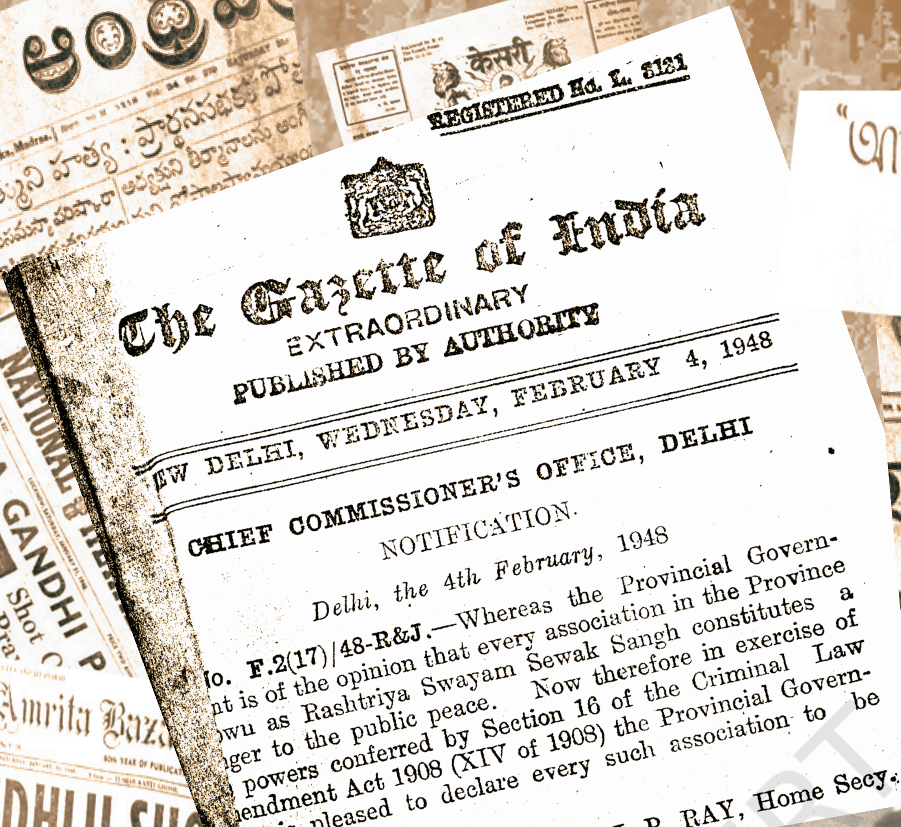
MARATHA FROM POONA FIRES AT POINT-BLANK RANGE

Outrage On Way To Prayer Meeting

FUNERAL TODAY AT JUMNA GHAT: COUNTRY-WIDE GRIEF

ગુજરાત સમાચાર

ગોળીઓથી ગાંધીજીનું ખૂન



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PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY

EW DELHI, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1948

CHIEF COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE, DELHI

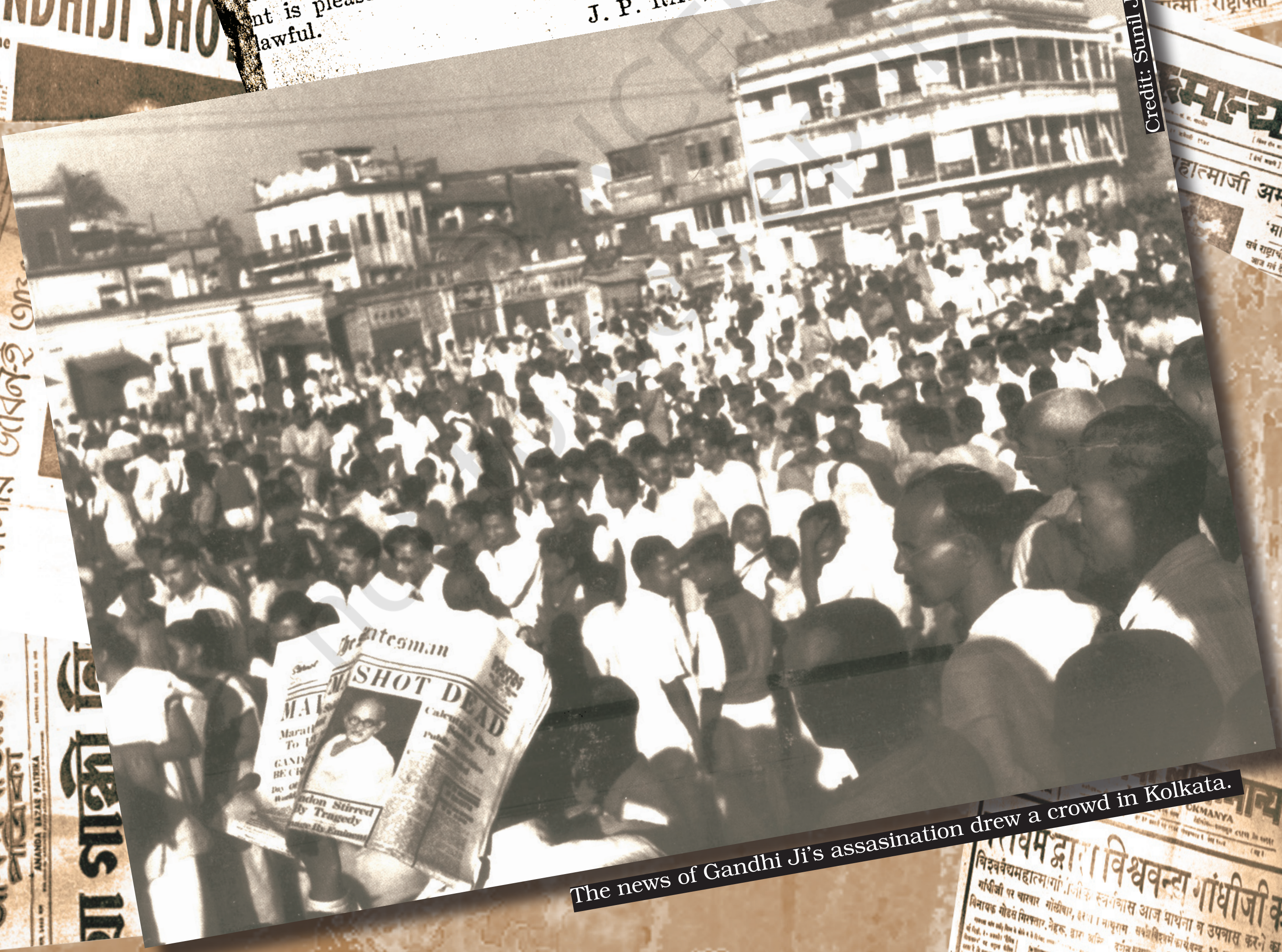
NOTIFICATION

Delhi, the 4th February, 1948

o. **F.2(17)/48-R&J.**—Whereas the Provincial Govern-
nt is of the opinion that every association in the Province
own as Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh constitutes a
nger to the public peace. Now therefore in exercise of
powers conferred by Section 16 of the Criminal Law
endment Act 1908 (XIV of 1908) the Provincial Govern-
nt is pleased to declare every such association to be
lawful.

J. P. RAY, Home Secy.

केसरी
"আমার জীবনই আমার বাণী"
আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা
ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
া গান্ধী নিহত
प्रभात
नवतेची जीवनज्योत मावळली !
Amrita Baza
ANDHIJI SHO
NATIONAL
ATMA GANDHI
महात्माजी अमर होवोत
विश्ववन्द्य गांधीजी की हत्



Statesman
SHOT DEAD

Credit: Sunil Janah

The news of Gandhi Ji's assasination drew a crowd in Kolkata.

equally and that India should not be a country that gave superior status to adherents of one faith and inferior to those who practiced another religion. All citizens would be equal irrespective of their religious affiliation. Being religious or a believer would not be a test of citizenship. They cherished therefore the ideal of a secular nation. This ideal was enshrined in the Indian Constitution.

Let's re-search

Shweta noticed that her Nana (maternal grandfather) would get very quiet whenever anyone mentioned Pakistan. One day she decided to ask him about it. Her Nana told her about how he moved from Lahore to Ludhiana during Partition. Both his parents were killed. Even he would not have survived, but a neighbouring Muslim family gave him shelter and kept him in hiding for several days. They helped him find some relatives and that is how he managed to cross the border and start a new life. Similarly, there are many examples of Hindu families and others who helped, sheltered, and saved the lives of Muslim families during the times of crisis and violence caused by Partition. It shows the importance of compassion and solidarity on religious grounds in both communities.

Have you heard a similar story? Ask your grandparents or anyone of that generation about their memories of Independence Day, about the celebration, about the trauma of Partition, about the expectations they had from independence.

Write down at least two of these stories.

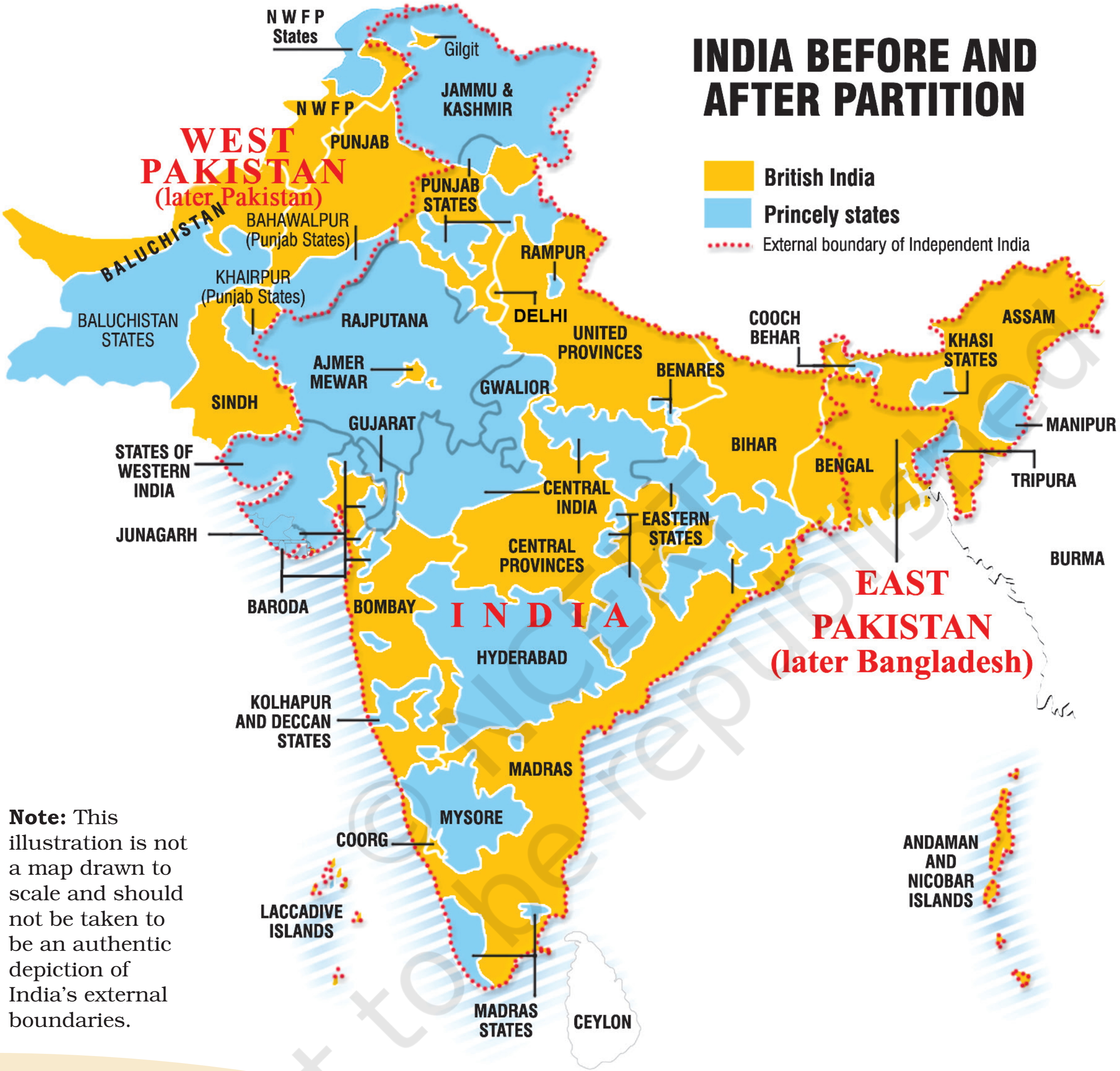
Integration of Princely States

British India was divided into what were called the British Indian Provinces and the Princely States. The British Indian Provinces were directly under the control of the British government. On the other hand, several large and small states ruled by princes, called the Princely States, enjoyed some form of control over their internal affairs as long as they accepted British supremacy. This was called paramountcy or suzerainty of the British crown. Princely States covered one-third of the land area of the British Indian Empire and one out of four Indians lived under princely rule.

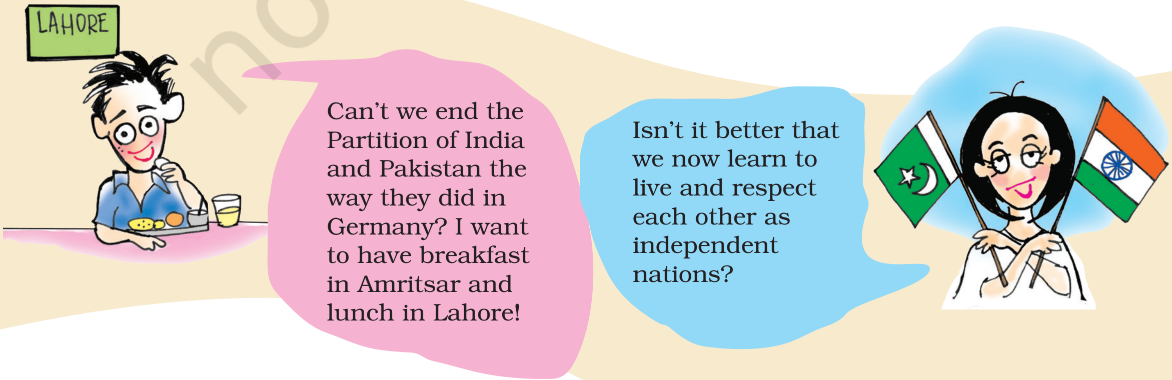
The problem

Just before Independence it was announced by the British that with the end of their rule over India, paramountcy of the British crown over Princely States would also lapse. This meant that all these states, as many as 565 in all, would become legally independent. The British government took the view that all these states were free to join either India or Pakistan or remain independent if they so wished. This decision was left not to the people but to the princely rulers of these states. This was a very serious problem and could threaten the very existence of a united India.

The problems started very soon. First of all, the ruler of Travancore announced that the state had decided on Independence. The Nizam


INDIA BEFORE AND AFTER PARTITION
British India
Princely states
External boundary of Independent India
N W F P States
Gilgit
JAMMU & KASHMIR
N W F P
PUNJAB
WEST PAKISTAN (later Pakistan)
BALUCHISTAN
PUNJAB STATES
BAHAWALPUR (Punjab States)
RAMPUR
KHAIRPUR (Punjab States)
BALUCHISTAN STATES
RAJPUTANA
DELHI
UNITED PROVINCES
COOCH BEHAR
ASSAM
KHASI STATES
AJMER MEWAR
GWALIOR
BENARES
SINDH
GUJARAT
MANIPUR
BIHAR
STATES OF WESTERN INDIA
BENGAL
TRIPURA
CENTRAL INDIA
EASTERN STATES
JUNAGARH
CENTRAL PROVINCES
BURMA
EAST PAKISTAN (later Bangladesh)
BARODA
BOMBAY
I N D I A
HYDERABAD
KOLHAPUR AND DECCAN STATES
MADRAS
MYSORE
COORG
ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS
LACCADIVE ISLANDS
MADRAS STATES
CEYLON

Note: This illustration is not a map drawn to scale and should not be taken to be an authentic depiction of India's external boundaries.


LAHORE
Can't we end the Partition of India and Pakistan the way they did in Germany? I want to have breakfast in Amritsar and lunch in Lahore!
Isn't it better that we now learn to live and respect each other as independent nations?

of Hyderabad made a similar announcement the next day. Rulers like the Nawab of Bhopal were averse to joining the Constituent Assembly. This response of the rulers of the Princely States meant that after Independence there was a very real possibility that India would get further divided into a number of small countries. The prospects of democracy for the people in these states also looked bleak. This was a strange situation, since the Indian Independence was aimed at unity, self-determination as well as democracy. In most of these princely states, governments were run in a non-democratic manner and the rulers were unwilling to give democratic rights to their populations.

> *We are at a momentous stage in the history of India. By common endeavour, we can raise the country to new greatness, while lack of unity will expose us to unexpected calamities. I hope the Indian States will realise fully that if we do not cooperate and work together in the general interest, anarchy and chaos will overwhelm us all, great and small, and lead us to total ruin...*
>
> **Sardar Patel**
> Letter to Princely rulers, 1947.

Government's approach

The interim government took a firm stance against the possible division of India into small principalities of different sizes. Under the Mountbatten Plan, the Princely states were free to join India or Pakistan. Sardar Patel was India's Deputy Prime Minister and the Home Minister during the crucial period immediately following Independence. He played a historic role in negotiating with the rulers of princely states firmly but diplomatically and bringing most of them into the Indian Union. It may look easy now. But it was a very complicated task which required skilful persuasion. For instance, there were 26 small states in today's Orissa. Saurashtra region of Gujarat had 14 big states, 119 small states and numerous other different administrations.

The government's approach was guided by three considerations. Firstly, the people of most of the princely states clearly wanted to become part of the Indian union. Secondly, the government was prepared to be flexible in giving autonomy to some regions. The idea was to accommodate plurality and adopt a flexible approach in dealing with the demands of the regions. Thirdly, in the backdrop of Partition which brought into focus the contest over demarcation of territory, the integration and consolidation of the territorial boundaries of the nation had assumed supreme importance.

Before 15 August 1947, peaceful negotiations had brought almost all states whose territories were contiguous to the new boundaries of India, into the Indian Union. The rulers of most of the states signed a document called the 'Instrument of Accession' which meant that their state agreed to become a part of the Union of India. Accession of the Princely States of Junagadh, Hyderabad, Kashmir and Manipur proved more difficult than the rest. The issue of Junagarh was resolved after a plebiscite confirmed people's desire to join India. You will read about Kashmir in Chapter Seven. Here, let us look at the cases of Hyderabad and Manipur.

Credit: PIB

Sardar Patel with the Nizam of Hyderabad

Hyderabad

Hyderabad, the largest of the Princely States was surrounded entirely by Indian territory. Some parts of the old Hyderabad state are today parts of Maharashtra, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. Its ruler carried the title, 'Nizam', and he was one of the world's richest men. The Nizam wanted an independent status for Hyderabad. He entered into what was called the Standstill Agreement with India in November 1947 for a year while negotiations with the Indian government were going on.

In the meantime, a movement of the people of Hyderabad State against the Nizam's rule gathered force. The peasantry in the Telangana region in particular, was the victim of Nizam's oppressive rule and rose against him. Women who had seen the worst of this oppression joined the movement in large numbers. Hyderabad town was the nerve centre of this movement. The Communists and the Hyderabad Congress were in the forefront of the movement. The Nizam responded by unleashing a para-military force known as the Razakars on the people. The atrocities and communal nature of the Razakars knew no bounds. They

INDIA
भारत
1875-1950
0.15
वल्लभभाई पटेल
VALLABHBHAI PATEL
INDIA SECURITY PRESS

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel (1875-1950): Leader of the freedom movement; Congress leader; follower of Mahatma Gandhi; Deputy Prime Minister and first Home Minister of independent India; played an important role in the integration of Princely States with India; member of important committees of the Constituent Assembly on Fundamental Rights, Minorities, Provincial Constitution, etc.

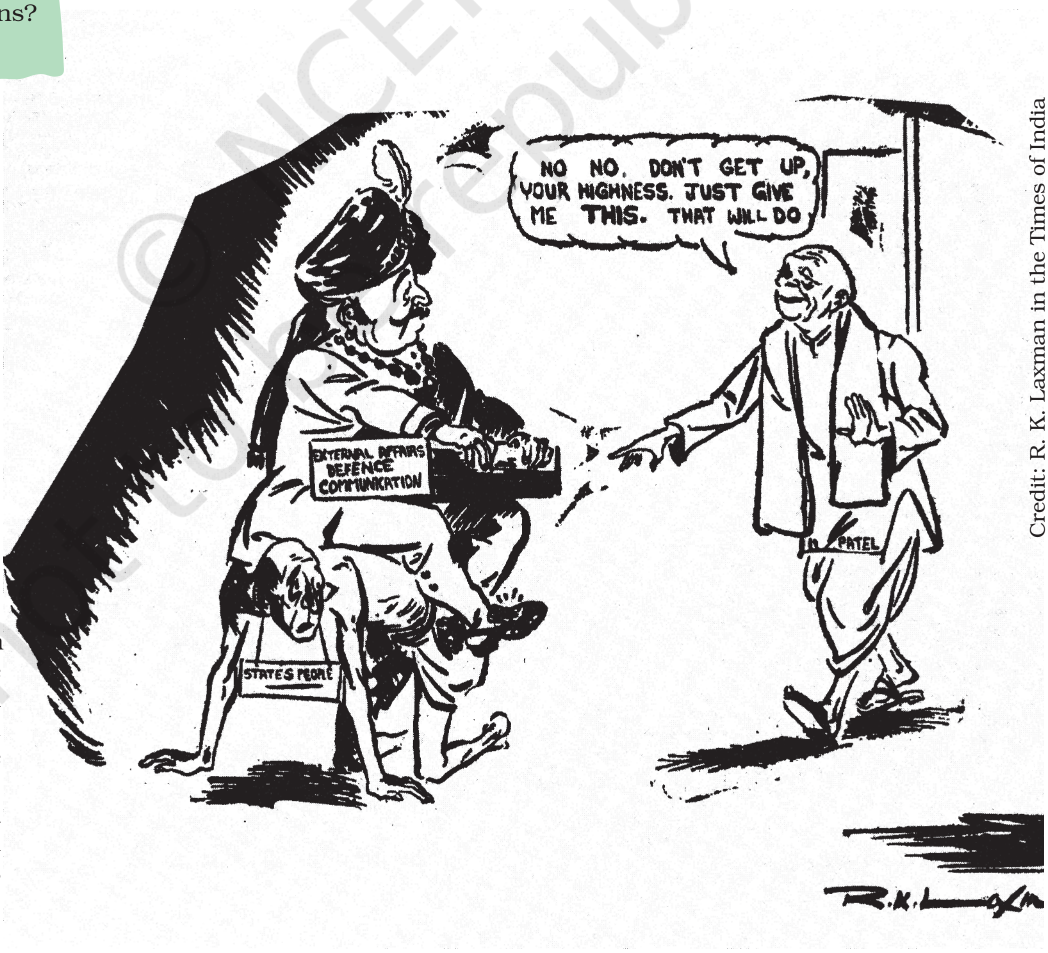
murdered, maimed, raped and looted, targeting particularly the non-Muslims. The central government had to order the army to tackle the situation. In September 1948, Indian army moved in to control the Nizam's forces. After a few days of intermittent fighting, the Nizam surrendered. This led to Hyderabad's accession to India.

I wonder what happened to all those hundreds of kings, queens, princes and princesses. How did they live their lives after becoming just ordinary citizens?

Manipur

A few days before Independence, the Maharaja of Manipur, Bodhachandra Singh, signed the Instrument of Accession with the Indian government on the assurance that the internal autonomy of Manipur would be maintained. Under the pressure of public opinion, the Maharaja held elections in Manipur in June 1948 and the state became a constitutional monarchy. Thus Manipur was the first part of India to hold an election based on universal adult franchise.

In the Legislative Assembly of Manipur there were sharp differences over the question of merger of Manipur with India. While the state Congress wanted the merger, other political parties were opposed to this. The Government of India succeeded in persuading the Maharaja into signing a Merger Agreement in September 1949.


NO NO. DON'T GET UP, YOUR HIGHNESS. JUST GIVE ME THIS. THAT WILL DO
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS DEFENCE COMMUNICATION
STATES PEOPLE
PATEL
R.K. Laxman

Credit: R. K. Laxman in the Times of India

This cartoon comments on the relation between the people and the rulers in the Princely States, and also on Patel's approach to resolving this issue.

Reorganisation of States

The process of nation-building did not come to an end with Partition and integration of Princely States. Now the challenge was to draw the internal boundaries of the Indian states. This was not just a matter of administrative divisions. The boundaries had to be drawn in a way so that the linguistic and cultural plurality of the country could be reflected without affecting the unity of the nation.

During colonial rule, the state boundaries were drawn either on administrative convenience or simply coincided with the territories annexed by the British government or the territories ruled by the princely powers.

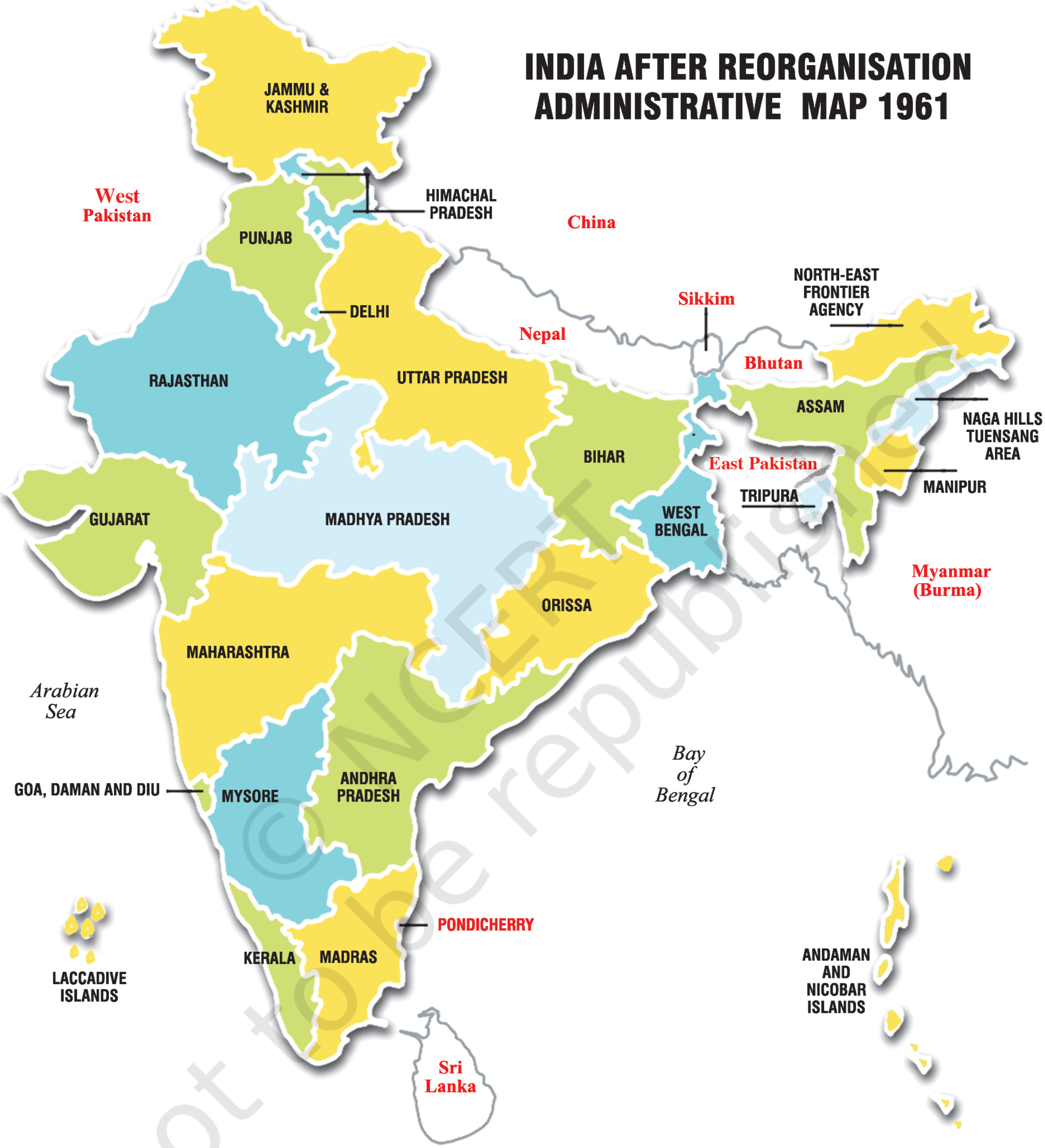
Our national movement had rejected these divisions as artificial and had promised the linguistic principle as the basis of formation of states. In fact after the Nagpur session of Congress in 1920 the principle was recognised as the basis of the reorganisation of the Indian National Congress party itself. Many Provincial Congress Committees were created by linguistic zones, which did not follow the administrative divisions of British India.

Things changed after Independence and Partition. Our leaders felt that carving out states on the basis of language might lead to disruption and disintegration. It was also felt that this would draw attention away from other social and economic challenges that the country faced. The central leadership decided to postpone matters. The need for postponement was also felt because the fate of the Princely States had not been decided. Also, the memory of Partition was still fresh.

This decision of the national leadership was challenged by the local leaders and the people. Protests began in the Telugu speaking areas of the old Madras province, which included present day Tamil Nadu, parts of Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Karnataka. The Vishalandhra movement (as the movement for a separate Andhra was called) demanded that the Telugu speaking areas should be separated from the Madras province of which they were a part and be made into a separate Andhra province. Nearly all the political forces in the Andhra region were in favour of linguistic reorganisation of the then Madras province.

The movement gathered momentum as a result of the Central government's vacillation. Potti Sriramulu, a Congress leader and a veteran Gandhian, went on an indefinite fast that led to his death after 56 days. This caused great unrest and resulted in violent outbursts in Andhra region. People in large numbers took to the streets. Many were injured or lost their lives in police firing. In Madras, several legislators resigned their seats in protest. Finally, the Prime Minister announced the formation of a separate Andhra state in December 1952.

> *“..if lingusitic provinces are formed, it will also give a fillip to the regional languages. It would be absurd to make Hindustani the medium of instruction in all the regions and it is still more absurd to use English for this purpose.”*
>
> ***Mahatma Gandhi***
> January1948


INDIA AFTER REORGANISATION
ADMINISTRATIVE MAP 1961
JAMMU & KASHMIR
HIMACHAL PRADESH
PUNJAB
DELHI
RAJASTHAN
UTTAR PRADESH
West Pakistan
China
Nepal
Sikkim
Bhutan
NORTH-EAST FRONTIER AGENCY
ASSAM
NAGA HILLS TUENSANG AREA
MANIPUR
TRIPURA
East Pakistan
BIHAR
WEST BENGAL
GUJARAT
MADHYA PRADESH
ORISSA
Myanmar (Burma)
MAHARASHTRA
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
GOA, DAMAN AND DIU
MYSORE
ANDHRA PRADESH
PONDICHERRY
KERALA
MADRAS
LACCADIVE ISLANDS
ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS
Sri Lanka

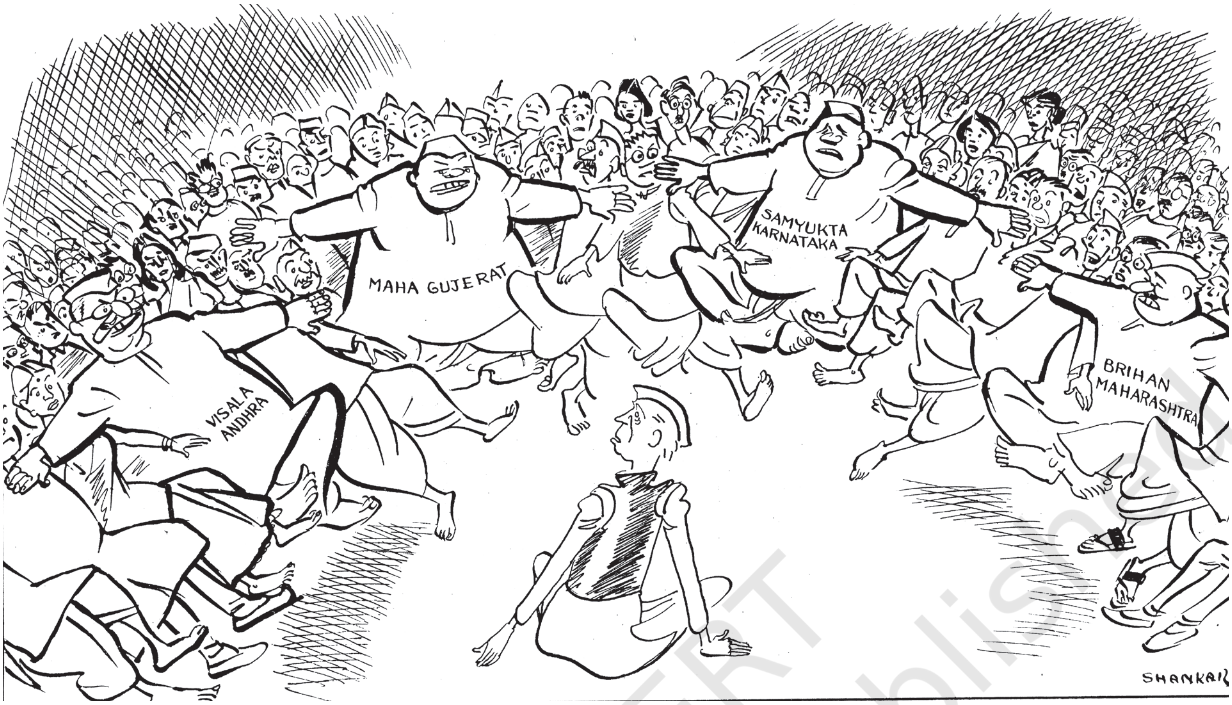
Note: This illustration is not a map drawn to scale and should not be taken to be an authentic depiction of India's external boundaries.

Read the map and answer the following questions:

1. Name the original state from which the following states were carved out:

Gujarat	Haryana
Meghalaya	Chhattisgarh

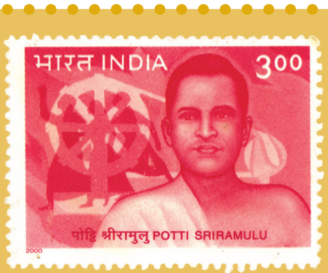
2. Name two states that were affected by the Partition of the country.
3. Name two states today that were once a Union Territory.



Credit: Shankar

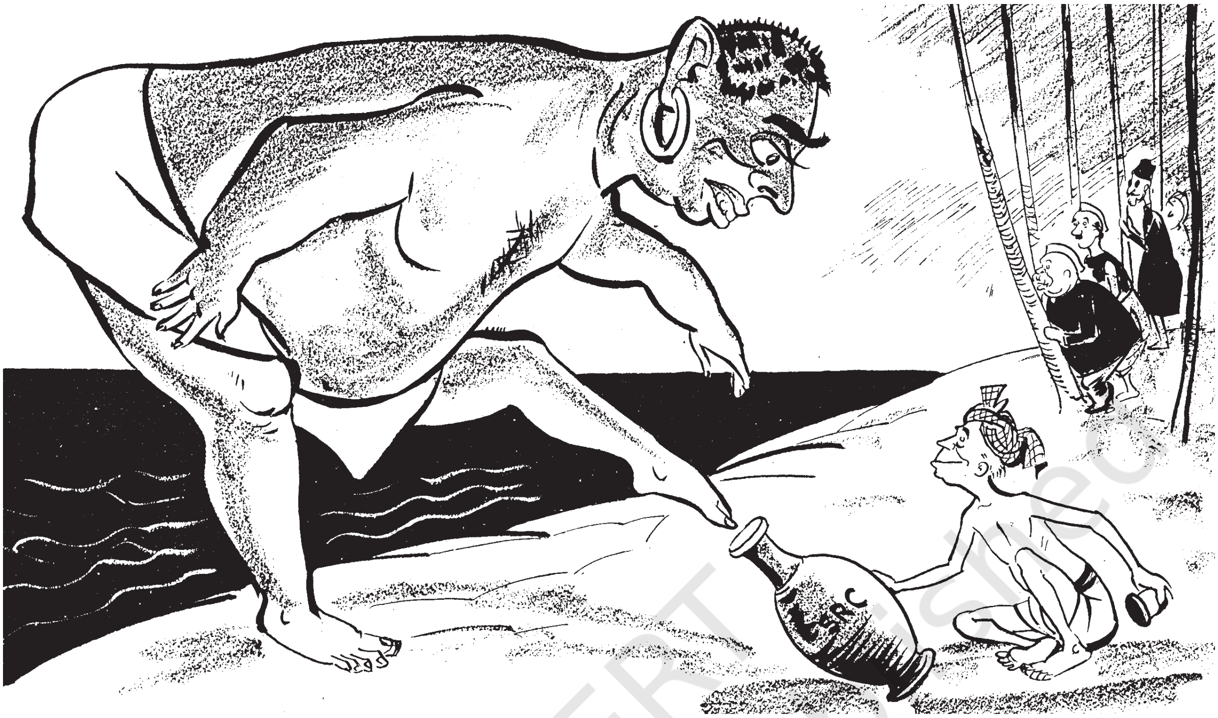
"Struggle for Survival" (26 July 1953) captures contemporary impression of the demand for linguistic states

The formation of Andhra spurred the struggle for making of other states on linguistic lines in other parts of the country. These struggles forced the Central Government into appointing a States Reorganisation Commission in 1953 to look into the question of redrawing of the boundaries of states. The Commission in its report accepted that the boundaries of the state should reflect the boundaries of different languages. On the basis of its report the States Reorganisation Act was passed in 1956. This led to the creation of 14 states and six union territories.



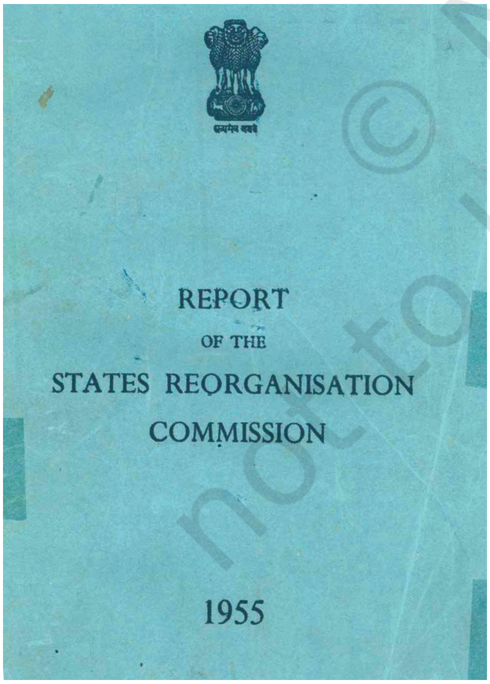
Potti Sriramulu (1901-1952): Gandhian worker; left government job to participate in Salt Satyagraha; also participated in individual Satyagraha; went on a fast in 1946 demanding that temples in Madras province be opened to dalits; undertook a fast unto death from 19 October 1952 demanding separate state of Andhra; died during the fast on 15 December 1952.

Now, isn't this very interesting? Nehru and other leaders were very popular, and yet the people did not hesitate to agitate for linguistic states against the wishes of the leaders!



Credit: Shankar

"Coaxing the Genie back" (5 February 1956) asked if the State Reorganisation Commission could contain the genie of linguism.



REPORT
OF THE
STATES REORGANISATION
COMMISSION

1955

One of the most important concerns in the early years was that demands for separate states would endanger the unity of the country. It was felt that linguistic states may foster separatism and create pressures on the newly founded nation. But the leadership, under popular pressure, finally made a choice in favour of linguistic states. It was hoped that if we accept the regional and linguistic claims of all regions, the threat of division and separatism would be reduced. Besides, the accommodation of regional demands and the formation of linguistic states were also seen as more democratic.

Now it is more than fifty years since the formation of linguistic states. We can say that linguistic states and the movements for the formation of these states changed the nature of democratic politics and leadership in some basic ways. The path to politics and power was now open to people other than the small English speaking elite. Linguistic reorganisation also gave some uniform basis to the drawing of state boundaries. It did not lead to disintegration of the country as many had feared earlier. On the contrary it strengthened national unity.

Above all, the linguistic states underlined the acceptance of the principle of diversity. When we say that India adopted democracy, it does not simply mean that India embraced a democratic constitution, nor does it merely mean that India adopted the format of elections. The choice was larger than that. It was a choice in favour of recognising and accepting the existence of differences which could at times be oppositional. Democracy, in other words, was associated with plurality of ideas and ways of life. Much of the politics in the later period was to take place within this framework.

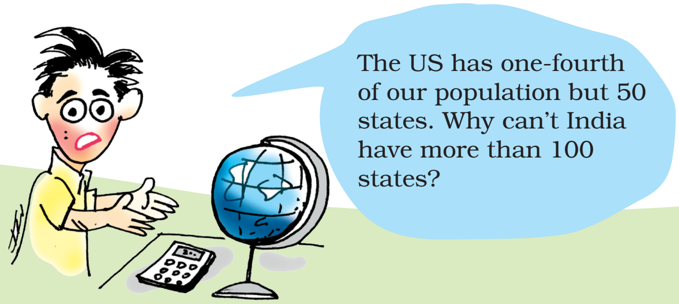
Fast Forward Creation of new states

The acceptance of the principle of linguistic states did not mean, however, that all states immediately became linguistic states. There was an experiment of 'bilingual' Bombay state, consisting of Gujarati- and Marathi-speaking people. After a popular agitation, the states of Maharashtra and Gujarat were created in 1960.

In Punjab also, there were two linguistic groups: Hindi-speaking and Punjabi-speaking. The Punjabi-speaking people demanded a separate state. But it was not granted with other states in 1956. Statehood for Punjab came ten years later, in 1966, when the territories of today's Haryana and Himachal Pradesh were separated from the larger Punjab state.

Another major reorganisation of states took place in the north-east in 1972. Meghalaya was carved out of Assam in 1972. Manipur and Tripura too emerged as separate states in the same year. The states of Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh came into being in 1987. Nagaland had become a state much earlier in 1963.

Language did not, however, remain the sole basis of organisation of states. In later years sub-regions raised demands for separate states on the basis of a separate regional culture or complaints of regional imbalance in development. Three such states, Chhattisgarh, Uttarakhand and Jharkhand, were created in 2000. Telangana has emerged as a new state on 2 June, 2014. The story of reorganisation has not come to an end. There are many regions in the country where there are movements demanding separate and smaller states. These include Vidarbha in Maharashtra, Harit Pradesh in the western region of Uttar Pradesh and the northern region of West Bengal.


The US has one-fourth of our population but 50 states. Why can't India have more than 100 states?

EXERCISES

1. Which among the following statements about the Partition is incorrect?
   (a) Partition of India was the outcome of the "two-nation theory."
   (b) Punjab and Bengal were the two provinces divided on the basis of religion.
   (c) East Pakistan and West Pakistan were not contiguous.
   (d) The scheme of Partition included a plan for transfer of population across the border.

2. Match the principles with the instances:

(a) Mapping of boundaries on religious grounds	i. Pakistan and Bangladesh
(b) Mapping of boundaries on grounds of different languages	ii. India and Pakistan
(c) Demarcating boundaries within a country by geographical zones	iii. Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh
(d) Demarcating boundaries within a country on administrative and political grounds	iv. Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand

3. Take a current political map of India (showing outlines of states) and mark the location of the following Princely States.
   (a) Junagadh (b) Manipur
   (c) Mysore (d) Gwalior

4. Here are two opinions –

   Bismay: "The merger with the Indian State was an extension of democracy to the people of the Princely States."

   Inderpreet: "I am not so sure, there was force being used. Democracy comes by creating consensus."

   What is your own opinion in the light of accession of Princely States and the responses of the people in these parts?

5. Read the following very different statements made in August 1947 –

   "Today you have worn on your heads a crown of thorns. The seat of power is a nasty thing. You have to remain ever wakeful on that seat…. you have to be more humble and forbearing…now there will be no end to your being tested." — M.K Gandhi

   "…India will awake to a life of freedom….we step out from the old to the new…we end today a period of ill fortune and India discovers herself again. The achievement we celebrate today is but a step, an opening of opportunity…" — Jawaharlal Nehru

   Spell out the agenda of nation building that flows from these two statements. Which one appeals more to you and why?

6. What are the reasons being used by Nehru for keeping India secular? Do you think these reasons were only ethical and sentimental? Or were there some prudential reasons as well?

7. Bring out two major differences between the challenge of nation building for eastern and western regions of the country at the time of Independence.

8. What was the task of the States Reorganisation Commission? What was its most salient recommendation?

9. It is said that the nation is to a large extent an " imagined community" held together by common beliefs, history, political aspirations and imaginations. Identify the features that make India a nation.

10. Read the following passage and answer the questions below:

    "In the history of nation-building only the Soviet experiment bears comparison with the Indian. There too, a sense of unity had to be forged between many diverse ethnic groups, religious, linguistic communities and social classes. The scale – geographic as well as demographic – was comparably massive. The raw material the state had to work with was equally unpropitious: a people divided by faith and driven by debt and disease." — RAMACHANDRA GUHA

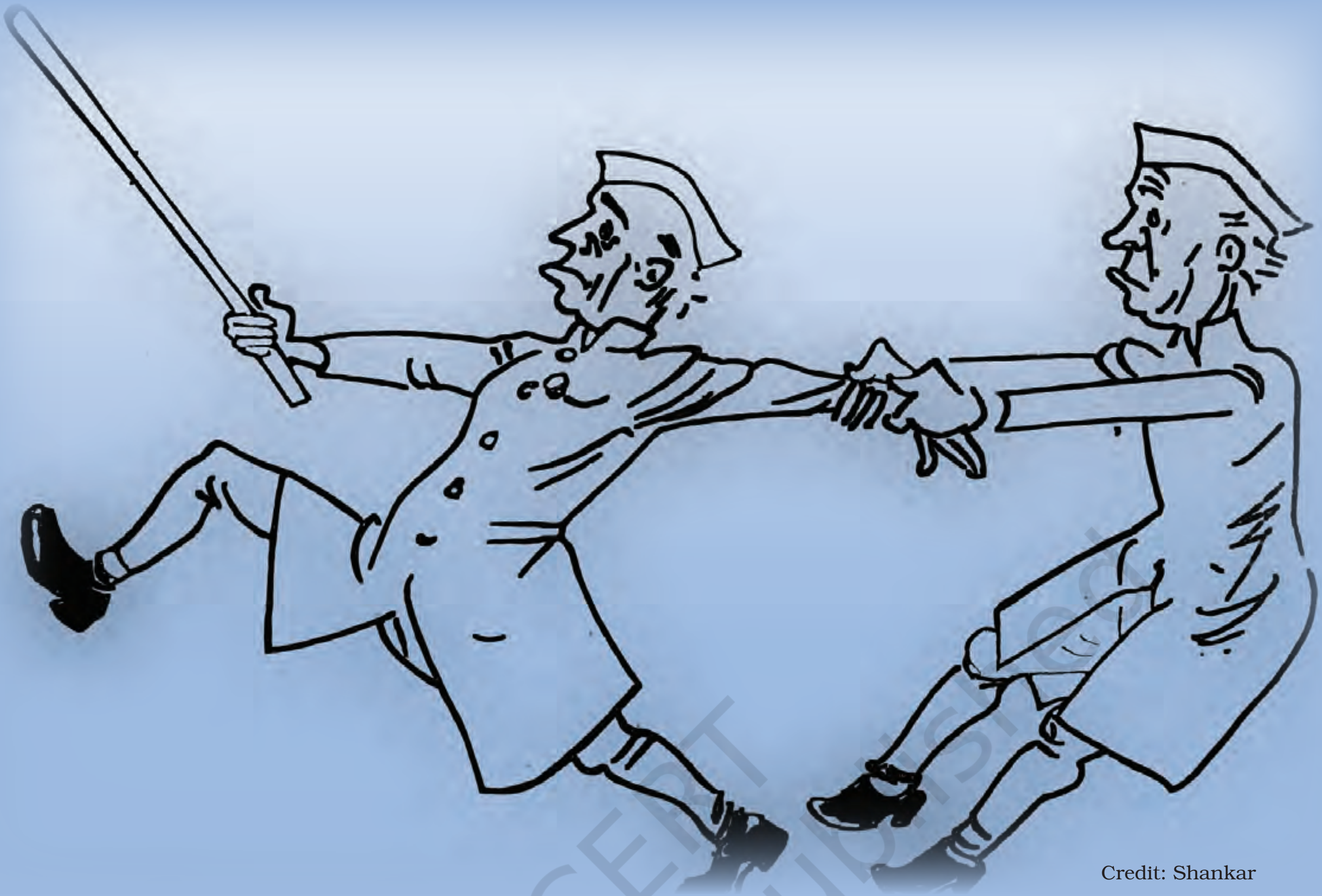
    (a) List the commonalities that the author mentions between India and Soviet Union and give one example for each of these from India.

    (b) The author does not talk about dissimilarities between the two experiments. Can you mention two dissimilarities?

    (c) In retrospect which of these two experiments worked better and why?

LET US DO IT TOGETHER

- Read a novel/ story on Partition by an Indian and a Pakistani/ Bangladeshi writer. What are the commonalities of the experience across the border?
- Collect all the stories from the 'Let's Research' suggestion in this chapter. Prepare a wallpaper that highlights the common experiences and has stories on the unique experiences.



Credit: Shankar

This famous sketch by Shankar appeared on the cover of his collection – *Don't Spare Me, Shankar*. The original sketch was drawn in the context of India's China policy. But this cartoon captures the dual role of the Congress during the era of one-party dominance.

In this chapter...

The challenge of nation-building, covered in the last chapter, was accompanied by the challenge of instituting democratic politics. Thus, electoral competition among political parties began immediately after Independence. In this chapter, we look at the first decade of electoral politics in order to understand

- the establishment of a system of free and fair elections;
- the domination of the Congress party in the years immediately after Independence; and
- the emergence of opposition parties and their policies.

CHAPTER 2

ERA OF ONE-PARTY DOMINANCE

12119CH02

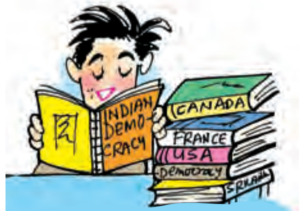
Challenge of building democracy

You now have an idea of the difficult circumstances in which independent India was born. You have read about the serious challenge of nation-building that confronted the country right in the beginning. Faced with such serious challenges, leaders in many other countries of the world decided that their country could not afford to have democracy. They said that national unity was their first priority and that democracy will introduce differences and conflicts. Therefore many of the countries that gained freedom from colonialism experienced non-democratic rule. It took various forms: nominal democracy but effective control by one leader, one party rule or direct army rule. Non-democratic regimes always started with a promise of restoring democracy very soon. But once they established themselves, it was very difficult to dislodge them.

The conditions in India were not very different. But the leaders of the newly independent India decided to take the more difficult path. Any other path would have been surprising, for our freedom struggle was deeply committed to the idea of democracy. Our leaders were conscious of the critical role of politics in any democracy. They did not see politics as a problem; they saw it as a way of solving the problems. Every society needs to decide how it will govern and regulate itself. There are always different policy alternatives to choose from. There are different groups with different and conflicting aspirations. How do we resolve these differences? Democratic politics is an answer to this question. While competition and power are the two most visible things about politics, the purpose of political activity is and should be deciding and pursuing public interest. This is the route our leaders decided to take.

> *In India,....*
> *...hero-worship, plays a part in its politics unequalled in magnitude by the part it plays in the politics of any other country....But in politics, ...hero-worship is a sure road to degradation and eventual dictatorship.*
>
> ***Babasaheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar***
> Speech in Constituent Assembly
> 25 November 1949

Last year you studied how our Constitution was drafted. You would remember that the Constitution was adopted on 26 November 1949 and signed on 24 January 1950 and it came into effect on 26 January 1950. At that time the country was being ruled by an interim government. It was now necessary to install the first democratically elected government of the country. The Constitution had laid down the rules, now the machine had to be put in place. Initially it was thought that this was only a matter of a few months. The Election Commission of India was set up in January 1950. Sukumar Sen became the first Chief Election Commissioner. The country's first general elections were expected sometime in 1950 itself.

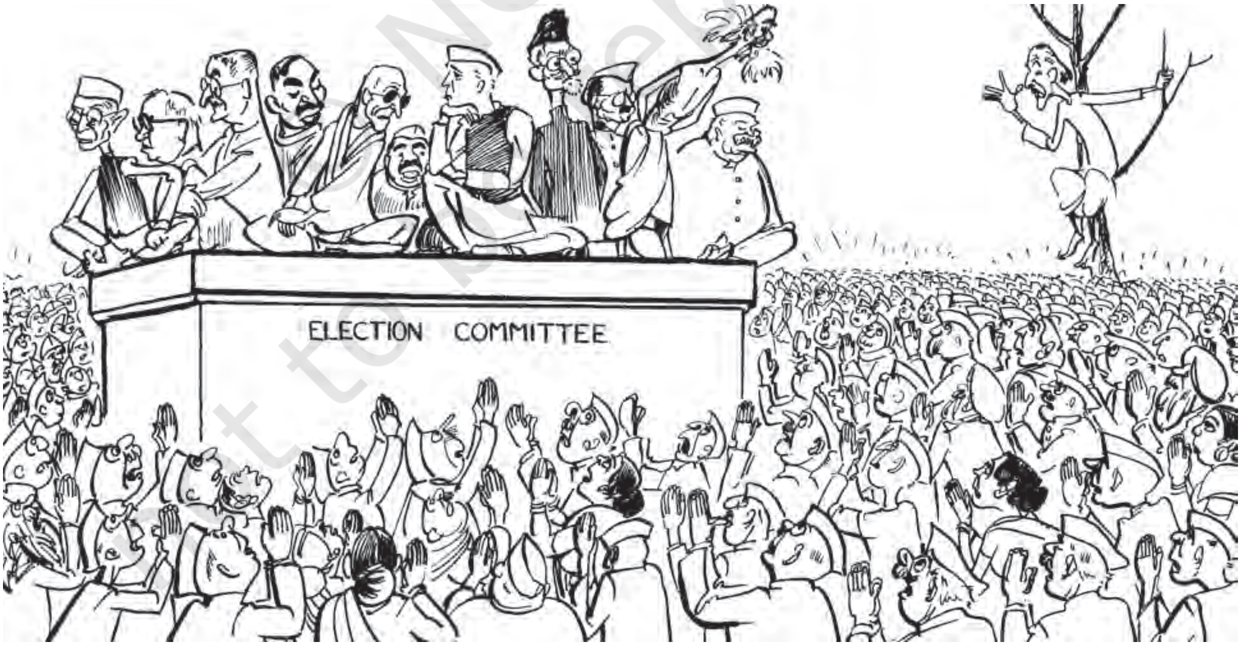


What's so special about our being a democracy? Sooner or later every country has become a democracy, isn't it?

That was a good decision. But what about men who still refer to a woman as Mrs. Somebody, as if she does not have a name of her own?

But the Election Commission discovered that it was not going to be easy to hold a free and fair election in a country of India's size. Holding an election required delimitation or drawing the boundaries of the electoral constituencies. It also required preparing the electoral rolls, or the list of all the citizens eligible to vote. Both these tasks took a lot of time. When the first draft of the rolls was published, it was discovered that the names of nearly 40 lakh women were not recorded in the list. They were simply listed as "wife of ..." or "daughter of ...". The Election Commission refused to accept these entries and ordered a revision if possible and deletion if necessary. Preparing for the first general election was a mammoth exercise. No election on this scale had ever been conducted in the world before. At that time there were 17 crore eligible voters, who had to elect about 3,200 MLAs and 489 Members of Lok Sabha. Only 15 per cent of these eligible voters were literate. Therefore the Election Commission had to think of some special method of voting. The Election Commission trained over 3 lakh officers and polling staff to conduct the elections.

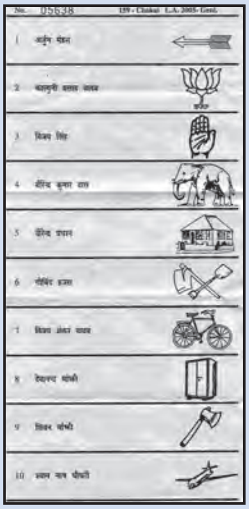
It was not just the size of the country and the electorate that made this election unusual. The first general election was also the first big test of democracy in a poor and illiterate country. Till then democracy had existed only in the prosperous countries, mainly in Europe and North America, where nearly everyone was literate. By that time many countries in Europe had not given voting rights to all women. In this context India's experiment with universal adult franchise



Credit: Shankar, 20 May 1951

A cartoonist's impression of the election committee formed by the Congress to choose party candidates in 1951. On the committee, besides Nehru: Morarji Desai, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Dr B.C. Roy, Kamaraj Nadar, Rajagopalachari, Jagjivan Ram, Maulana Azad, D.P. Mishra, P.D. Tandon and Govind Ballabh Pant.

Changing methods of voting


A sample of the ballot paper used from the third to the thirteenth general elections to Lok Sabha

Electronic Voting Machine

These days we use an Electronic Voting Machine (EVM) to record voters' preferences. But that is not how we started. In the first general election, it was decided to place inside each polling booth a box for each candidate with the election symbol of that candidate. Each voter was given a blank ballot paper which they had to drop into the box of the candidate they wanted to vote for. About 20 lakh steel boxes were used for this purpose. A presiding officer from Punjab described how he prepared the ballot boxes—"Each box had to have its candidate's symbol, both inside and outside it, and outside on either side, had to be displayed the name of the candidate in Urdu, Hindi and Punjabi along with the number of the constituency, the polling station and the polling booth. The paper seal with the numerical description of the candidate, signed by the presiding officer, had to be inserted in the token frame and its window closed by its door which had to be fixed in its place at the other end by means of a wire. All this had to be done on the day previous to the one fixed for polling. To fix symbols and labels the boxes had first to be rubbed with sandpaper or a piece of brick. I found that it took about five hours for six persons, including my two daughters, to complete this work. All this was done at my house."

After the first two elections, this method was changed. Now the ballot paper carried the names and symbols of all the candidates and the voter was required to put a stamp on the name of the candidate they wanted to vote for. This method worked for nearly forty years. Towards the end of 1990s the Election Commission started using the EVM. By 2004 the entire country had shifted to the EVM.

Let's re-search

Ask the elders in your family and neighbourhood about their experience of participating in elections.

- Did anyone vote in the first or second general election? Who did they vote for and why?
- Is there someone who has used all the three methods of voting? Which one did they prefer?
- In which ways do they find the elections of those days different from the present ones?

appeared very bold and risky. An Indian editor called it “the biggest gamble in history”. Organiser, a magazine, wrote that Jawaharlal Nehru “would live to confess the failure of universal adult franchise in India”. A British member of the Indian Civil Service claimed that “a future and more enlightened age will view with astonishment the absurd farce of recording the votes of millions of illiterate people”.

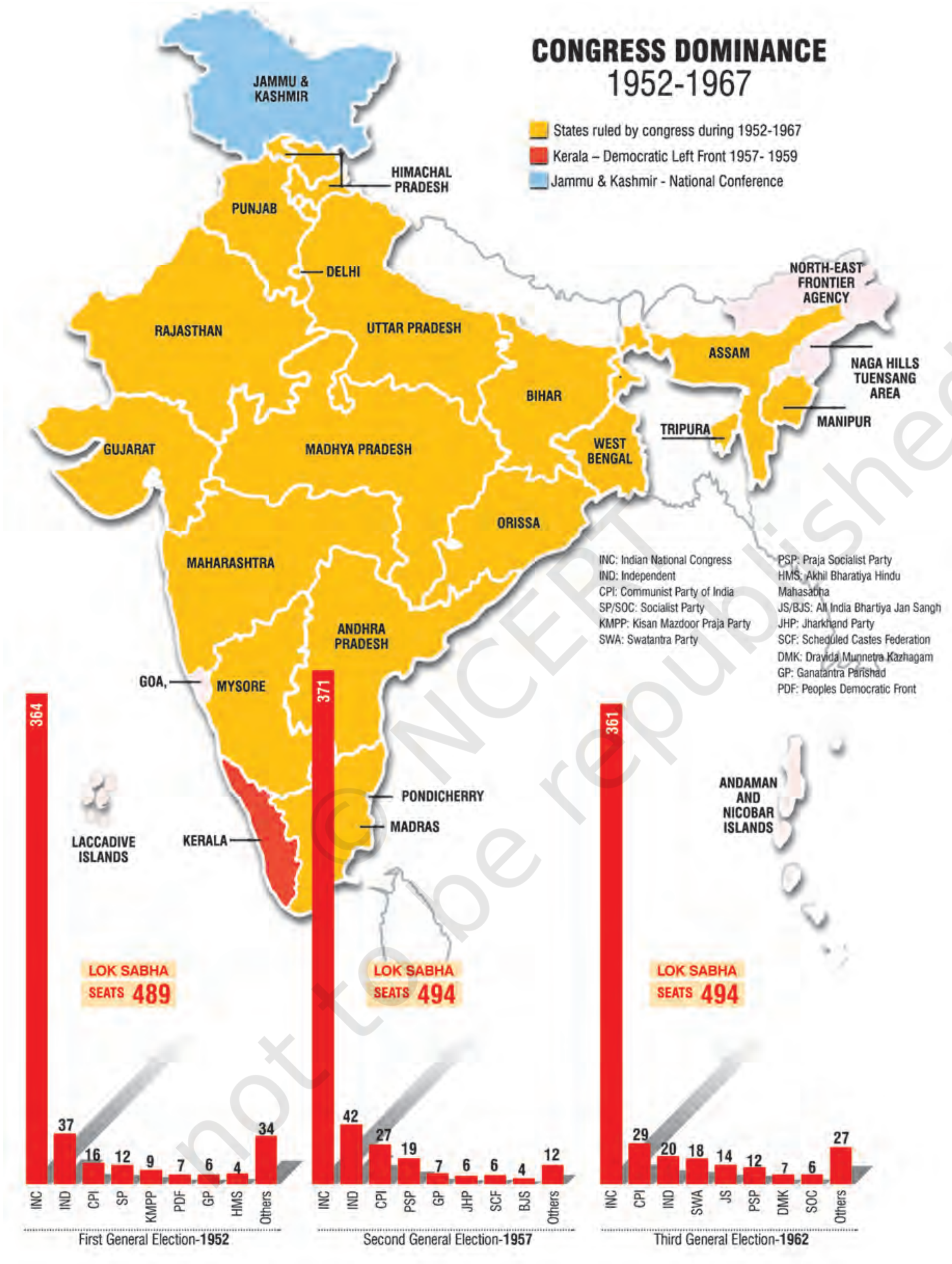
INDIA
भारत
15 पै.
P
ABUL KALAM AZAD
1888-1958
अबुल कलाम आज़ाद

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958): original name — Abul Kalam Mohiyuddin Ahmed; scholar of Islam; freedom fighter and Congress leader; proponent of Hindu-Muslim unity; opposed to Partition; member of Constituent Assembly; Education Minister in the first cabinet of free India.

The elections had to be postponed twice and finally held from October 1951 to February 1952. But this election is referred to as the 1952 election since most parts of the country voted in January 1952. It took six months for the campaigning, polling and counting to be completed. Elections were competitive – there were on an average more than four candidates for each seat. The level of participation was encouraging — more than half the eligible voters turned out to vote on the day of elections. When the results were declared these were accepted as fair even by the losers. The Indian experiment had proved the critics wrong. The Times of India held that the polls have “confounded all those sceptics who thought the introduction of adult franchise too risky an experiment in this country”. The Hindustan Times claimed that “there is universal agreement that the Indian people have conducted themselves admirably in the largest experiment in democratic elections in the history of the world”. Observers outside India were equally impressed. India’s general election of 1952 became a landmark in the history of democracy all over the world. It was no longer possible to argue that democratic elections could not be held in conditions of poverty or lack of education. It proved that democracy could be practiced anywhere in the world.

Congress dominance in the first three general elections

The results of the first general election did not surprise anyone. The Indian National Congress was expected to win this election. The Congress party, as it was popularly known, had inherited the legacy of the national movement. It was the only party then to have an organisation spread all over the country. And finally, in Jawaharlal Nehru, the party had the most popular and charismatic leader in Indian politics. He led the Congress campaign and toured through the country. When the final results were declared, the extent of the victory of the Congress did surprise many. The party won 364 of the 489 seats in the first Lok Sabha and finished way ahead of any other challenger. The Communist Party of India that came next in terms of seats won only 16 seats. The state elections were held with the

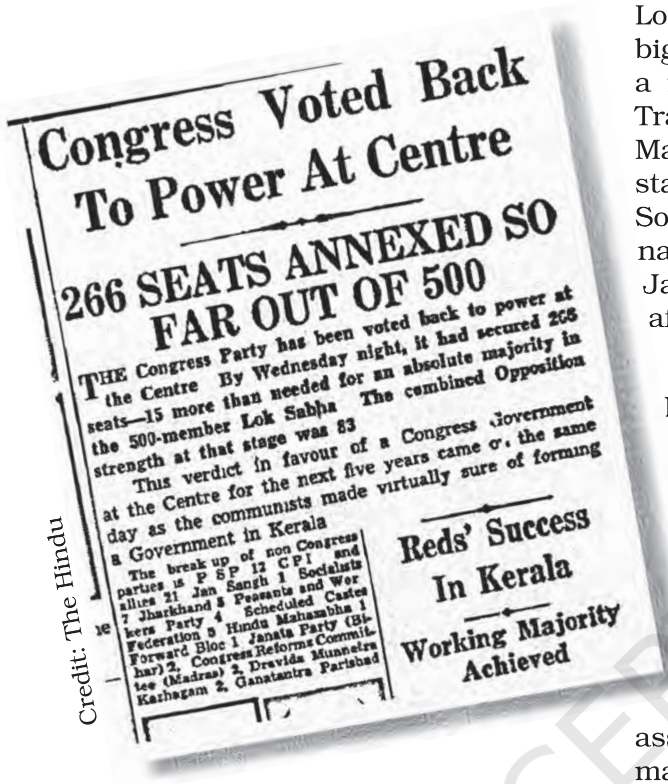

CONGRESS DOMINANCE
1952-1967
🟨 States ruled by congress during 1952-1967
🟥 Kerala – Democratic Left Front 1957- 1959
🟦 Jammu & Kashmir - National Conference
JAMMU & KASHMIR
HIMACHAL PRADESH
PUNJAB
DELHI
RAJASTHAN
UTTAR PRADESH
NORTH-EAST FRONTIER AGENCY
ASSAM
NAGA HILLS TUENSANG AREA
MANIPUR
TRIPURA
BIHAR
WEST BENGAL
GUJARAT
MADHYA PRADESH
ORISSA
MAHARASHTRA
ANDHRA PRADESH
GOA,
MYSORE
PONDICHERRY
MADRAS
LACCADIVE ISLANDS
KERALA
ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS
INC: Indian National Congress
IND: Independent
CPI: Communist Party of India
SP/SOC: Socialist Party
KMPP: Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party
SWA: Swatantra Party
PSP: Praja Socialist Party
HMS: Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha
JS/BJS: All India Bhartiya Jan Sangh
JHP: Jharkhand Party
SCF: Scheduled Castes Federation
DMK: Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
GP: Ganatantra Parishad
PDF: Peoples Democratic Front
LOK SABHA SEATS 489
INC 364
IND 37
CPI 16
SP 12
KMPP 9
PDF 7
GP 6
HMS 4
Others 34
First General Election-1952
LOK SABHA SEATS 494
INC 371
IND 42
CPI 27
PSP 19
GP 7
JHP 6
SCF 6
BJS 4
Others 12
Second General Election-1957
LOK SABHA SEATS 494
INC 361
CPI 29
IND 20
SWA 18
JS 14
PSP 12
DMK 7
SOC 6
Others 27
Third General Election-1962

Note: This illustration is not a map drawn to scale and should not be taken to be an authentic depiction of India's external boundaries.

Can you identify the places where the Congress had a strong presence?
In which States, did the other parties perform reasonably well?

Lok Sabha elections. The Congress scored big victory in those elections as well. It won a majority of seats in all the states except Travancore-Cochin (part of today's Kerala), Madras and Orissa. Finally even in these states the Congress formed the government. So the party ruled all over the country at the national and the state level. As expected, Jawaharlal Nehru became the Prime Minister after the first general election.

A look at the electoral map on the previous page would give you a sense of the dominance of the Congress during the period 1952-1962. In the second and the third general elections, held in 1957 and 1962 respectively, the Congress maintained the same position in the Lok Sabha by winning three-fourth of the seats. None of the opposition parties could win even one-tenth of the number of seats won by the Congress. In the state assembly elections, the Congress did not get majority in a few cases. The most significant of these cases was in Kerala in 1957 when a coalition led by the CPI formed the government. Apart from exceptions like this, the Congress controlled the national and all the state governments.



Congress Voted Back To Power At Centre

266 SEATS ANNEXED SO FAR OUT OF 500

THE Congress Party has been voted back to power at the Centre By Wednesday night, it had secured 266 seats—15 more than needed for an absolute majority in the 500-member Lok Sabha The combined Opposition strength at that stage was 83

This verdict in favour of a Congress Government at the Centre for the next five years came on the same day as the communists made virtually sure of forming a Government in Kerala

The break up of non Congress parties is P S P 12 C P I and allies 21 Jan Sangh 1 Socialists 7 Jharkhand 5 Peasants and Workers Party 4 Scheduled Castes Federation 5 Hindu Mahasabha 1 Forward Bloc 1 Janata Party (Bihar) 2, Congress Reforms Committee (Madras) 2, Dravida Munnetra Karhagam 2, Ganatantra Parishad

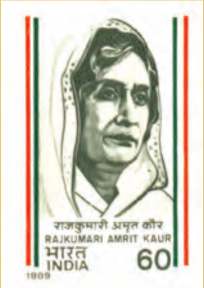
Reds' Success In Kerala

Working Majority Achieved

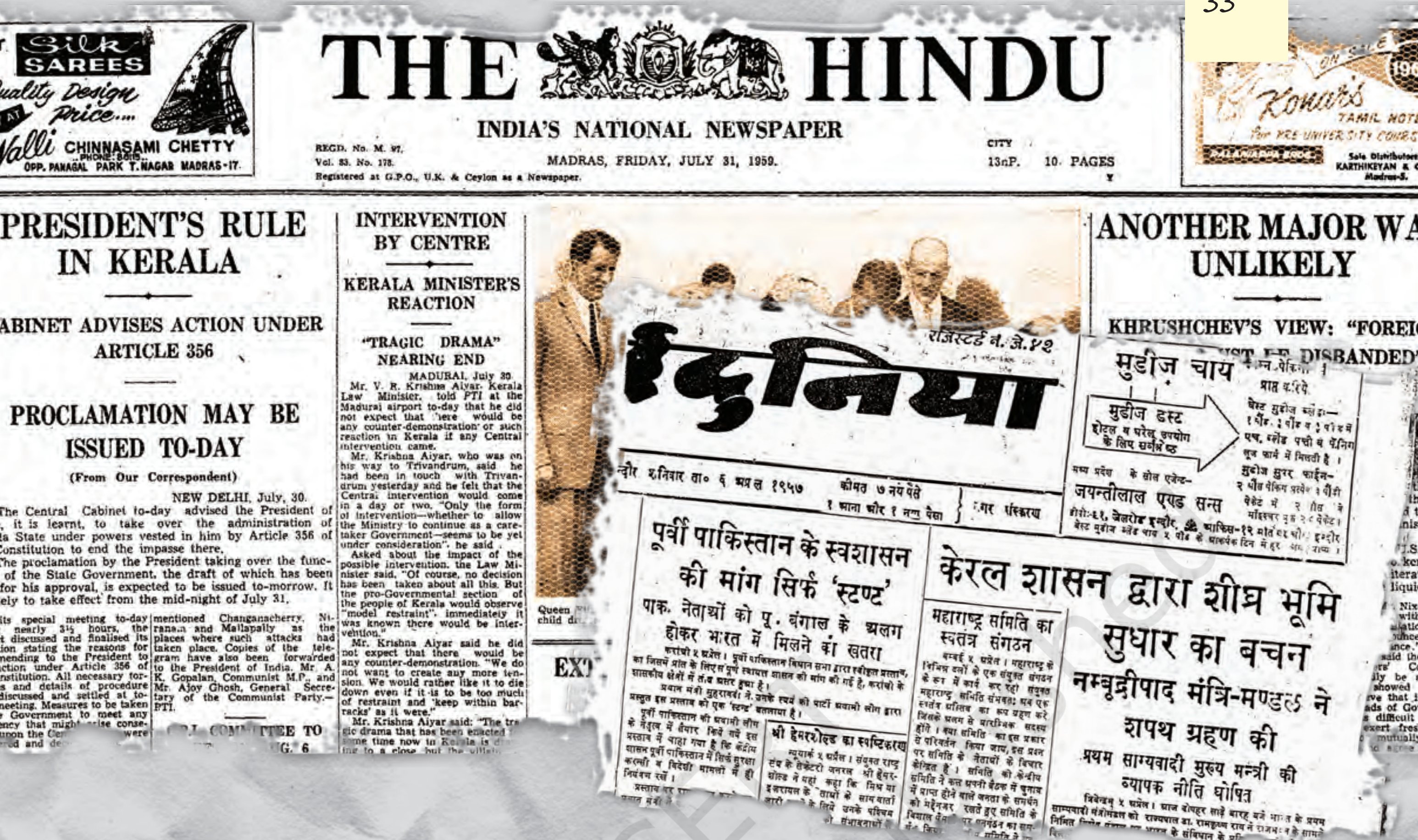
Credit: The Hindu

The extent of the victory of the Congress was artificially boosted by our electoral system. The Congress won three out of every four seats but it did not get even half of the votes. In 1952, for example, the Congress obtained 45 per cent of the total votes. But it managed to win 74 per cent of the seats. The Socialist Party, the second largest party in terms of votes, secured more than 10 per cent of the votes all over the country. But it could not even win three per cent of the seats. How did this happen? For this, you need to recall the discussion about the first-past-the-post method in your textbook, *Indian Constitution at Work* last year.

In this system of election, that has been adopted in our country, the party that gets more votes than others tends to get much more than its proportional share. That is exactly what worked in favour of the Congress. If we add up the votes of all the non-Congress candidates it was more than the votes of the Congress. But the non-Congress votes were divided between different rival parties and candidates. So the Congress was still way ahead of the opposition and managed to win.



Rajkumari Amrit Kaur (1889-1964): A Gandhian and Freedom fighter; belonged to the royal family of Kapurthala; inherited Christian religion from her mother; member of Constituent Assembly; Minister for Health in independent India's first ministry; continued as Health Minister till 1957.



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PHONE: 86...
OPP. PANAGAL PARK T.NAGAR MADRAS-17.

THE HINDU
INDIA'S NATIONAL NEWSPAPER
REGD. No. M. 97.
Vol. 83. No. 178.
Registered at G.P.O., U.K. & Ceylon as a Newspaper.
MADRAS, FRIDAY, JULY 31, 1959.
CITY
13nP. 10 PAGES

PRESIDENT'S RULE IN KERALA

ABINET ADVISES ACTION UNDER ARTICLE 356

PROCLAMATION MAY BE ISSUED TO-DAY

(From Our Correspondent)

NEW DELHI, July, 30.

The Central Cabinet to-day advised the President of , it is learnt, to take over the administration of la State under powers vested in him by Article 356 of Constitution to end the impasse there.

The proclamation by the President taking over the func- of the State Government, the draft of which has been for his approval, is expected to be issued to-morrow. It ely to take effect from the mid-night of July 31.

its special meeting to-day nearly 3½ hours, the t discussed and finalised its ion stating the reasons for mending to the President to ction under Article 356 of nstitution. All necessary for- s and details of procedure discussed and settled at to- neeting. Measures to be taken Government to meet any ency that might arise conse- upon the Ce were ed and de

mentioned Changanacherry, Niranam and Mallapally as the places where such attacks had taken place. Copies of the telegram have also been forwarded to the President of India, Mr. A. K. Gopalan, Communist M.P., and Mr. Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist Party.—PTI.

C.P.I. COMMITTEE TO G. 6

INTERVENTION BY CENTRE

KERALA MINISTER'S REACTION

"TRAGIC DRAMA" NEARING END

MADURAI, July 30.

Mr. V. R. Krishna Aiyar, Kerala Law Minister, told *PTI* at the Madurai airport to-day that he did not expect that there would be any counter-demonstration or such reaction in Kerala if any Central intervention came.

Mr. Krishna Aiyar, who was on his way to Trivandrum, said he had been in touch with Trivandrum yesterday and he felt that the Central intervention would come in a day or two. "Only the form of intervention—whether to allow the Ministry to continue as a caretaker Government—seems to be yet under consideration", he said.

Asked about the impact of the possible intervention, the Law Minister said, "Of course, no decision has been taken about all this. But the pro-Governmental section of the people of Kerala would observe "model restraint", immediately it was known there would be intervention."

Mr. Krishna Aiyar said he did not expect that there would be any counter-demonstration. "We do not want to create any more tension. We would rather like it to die down even if it is to be too much of restraint and 'keep within barracks' as it were."

Mr. Krishna Aiyar said: "The tragic drama that has been enacted some time now in Kerala is dr ing to a close, but the villain

Queen child dr

EXT

ANOTHER MAJOR WA UNLIKELY

KHRUSHCHEV'S VIEW: "FOREIG ST BE DISBANDED"

Konar's TAMIL NOTE For PRE-UNIVERSITY COURS
Sole Distributors KARTHIKEYAN & C Madras-5.

रजिस्टर्ड नं. जे.४२

दुनिया

न्दौर शनिवार ता० ६ अप्रल १९५७
कीमत ७ नये पैसे
१ आना और १ नया पैसा
नगर संस्करण

मुडीज़ चाय
मुडीज डस्ट
होटल व घरेलू उपयोग के लिए सर्वश्रेष्ठ
मध्य प्रदेश के सोल एजेन्ट–
जयन्तीलाल एण्ड सन्स

पूर्वी पाकिस्तान के स्वशासन की मांग सिर्फ 'स्टण्ट'

पाक. नेताओं को पू. बंगाल के अलग होकर भारत में मिलने का खतरा

श्री हेमरशोल्ड का स्पष्टिकरण

महाराष्ट्र समिति का स्वतंत्र संगठन

केरल शासन द्वारा शीघ्र भूमि सुधार का बचन

नम्बूद्रीपाद मंत्रि-मण्डल ने शपथ ग्रहण की

प्रथम साम्यवादी मुख्य मन्त्री की व्यापक नीति घोषित

Communist victory in Kerala

As early as in 1957, the Congress party had the bitter taste of defeat in Kerala. In the assembly elections held in March 1957, the Communist Party won the largest number of seats in the Kerala legislature. The party won 60 of the 126 seats and had the support of five independents. The governor invited E. M. S. Namboodiripad, the leader of the Communist legislature party, to form the ministry. For the first time in the world, a Communist party government had come to power through democratic elections.

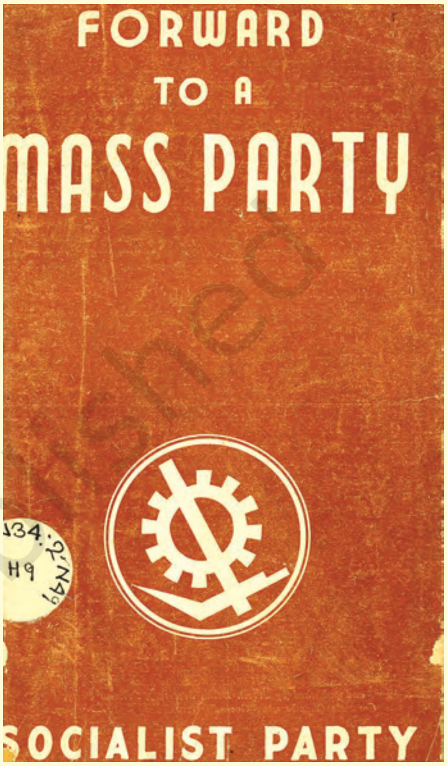
On losing power in the State, the Congress party began a 'liberation struggle' against the elected government. The CPI had come to power on the promise of carrying out radical and progressive policy measures. The Communists claimed that the agitation was led by vested interests and religious organisations. In 1959 the Congress government at the Centre dismissed the Communist government in Kerala under Article 356 of the Constitution. This decision proved very controversial and was widely cited as one of the prominent instances of the misuse of constitutional emergency powers.

Credit: Hindu

E.M.S. Namboodiripad, leading a procession of Communist Party workers, after his ministry was dismissed from office in Trivandrum in August 1959.

Socialist Party (SP)

The origins of the Socialist Party can be traced back to the mass movement stage of the Indian National Congress in the pre-independence era. The Congress Socialist Party (CSP) was formed within the Congress in 1934 by a group of young leaders who wanted a more radical and egalitarian Congress. In 1948, the Congress amended its constitution to prevent its members from having a dual party membership. This forced the Socialists to form a separate Socialist Party in 1948. The Party's electoral performance caused much disappointment to its supporters. Although the Party had presence in most of the states of India, it could achieve electoral success only in a few pockets.



FORWARD TO A MASS PARTY

SOCIALIST PARTY

The socialists believed in the ideology of democratic socialism which distinguished them both from the Congress as well as from the Communists. They criticised the Congress for favouring capitalists and landlords and for ignoring the workers and the peasants. But the socialists faced a dilemma when in 1955 the Congress declared its goal to be the socialist pattern of society. Thus it became difficult for the socialists to present themselves as an effective alternative to the Congress. Some of them, led by Rammanohar Lohia, increased their distance from and criticism of the Congress party. Some others like Asoka Mehta advocated a limited cooperation with the Congress.

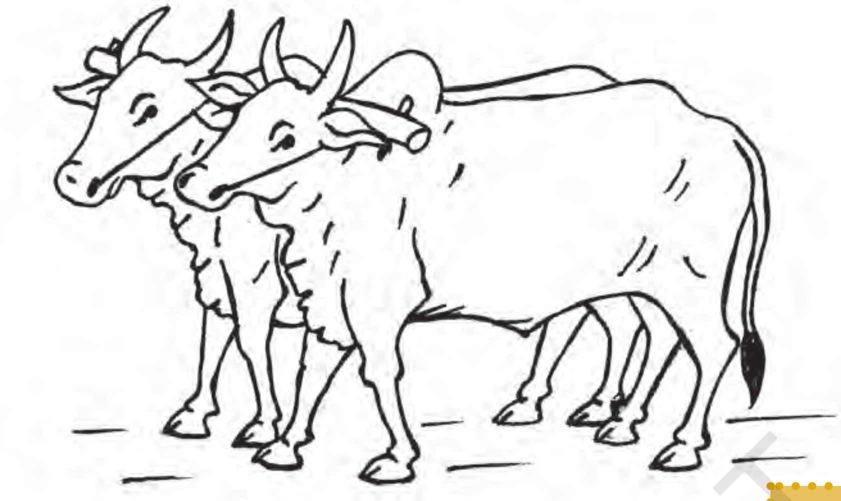
भारत INDIA
60
आचार्य नरेन्द्र देव
ACHARYA NARENDRA DEO
1989

Acharya Narendra Dev (1889-1956): Freedom fighter and founding President of the Congress Socialist Party; jailed several times during the freedom movement; active in peasants' movement; a scholar of Buddhism; after independence led the Socialist Party and later the Praja Socialist Party.

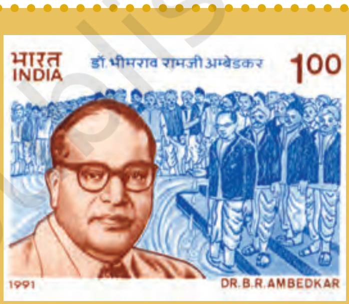
The Socialist Party went through many splits and reunions leading to the formation of many socialist parties. These included the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party, the Praja Socialist Party and Samyukta Socialist Party. Jayaprakash Narayan, Achyut Patwardhan, Asoka Mehta, Acharya Narendra Dev, Rammanohar Lohia and S.M. Joshi were among the leaders of the socialist parties. Many parties in contemporary India, like the Samajwadi Party, the Rashtriya Janata Dal, Janata Dal (United) and the Janata Dal (Secular) trace their origins to the Socialist Party.

Nature of Congress dominance

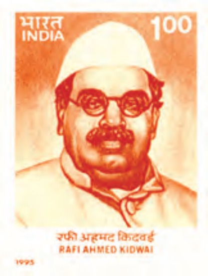
India is not the only country to have experienced the dominance of one party. If we look around the world, we find many other examples of one-party dominance. But there is a crucial difference between these and the Indian experience. In the rest of the cases the dominance of one party was ensured by compromising democracy. In some countries like China, Cuba and Syria the constitution permits only a single party to rule the country. Some others like Myanmar, Belarus, Egypt, and Eritrea are effectively one-party states due to legal and military measures. Until a few years ago, Mexico, South Korea and Taiwan were also effectively one-party dominant states. What distinguished the dominance of the Congress party in India from all these cases was it happened under democratic conditions. Many parties contested elections in conditions of free and fair elections and yet the Congress managed to win election after election. This was similar to the dominance the African National Congress has enjoyed in South Africa after the end of apartheid.



The roots of this extraordinary success of the Congress party go back to the legacy of the freedom struggle. Congress was seen as inheritor of the national movement. Many leaders who were in the forefront of that struggle were now contesting elections as Congress candidates. The Congress was already a very well-organised party and by the time the other parties could even think of a strategy, the Congress



Babasaheb Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (1891-1956): Leader of the anti-caste movement and the struggle for justice to the Dalits; scholar and intellectual; founder of Independent Labour Party; later founded the Scheduled Castes Federation; planned the formation of the Republican Party of India; Member of Viceroy's Executive Council during the Second World War; Chairman, Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly; Minister in Nehru's first cabinet after Independence; resigned in 1951 due to differences over the Hindu Code Bill; adopted Buddhism in 1956, with thousands of followers.



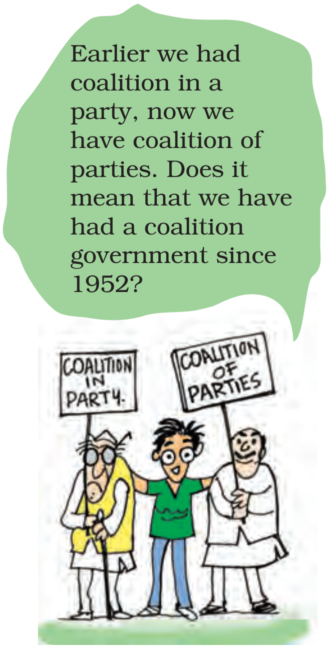
Rafi Ahmed Kidwai (1894-1954): Congress leader from U.P.; Minister in U.P. in 1937 and again in 1946; Minister for Communications in the first ministry of free India; Food and Agriculture Minister, 1952-54.

had already started its campaign. In fact, many parties were formed only around Independence or after that. Thus, the Congress had the 'first off the blocks' advantage. By the time of Independence the party had not only spread across the length and breadth of the country as we had seen in the maps but also had an organisational network down to the local level. Most importantly, as the Congress was till recently a national movement, its nature was all-inclusive. All these factors contributed to the dominance of the Congress party.

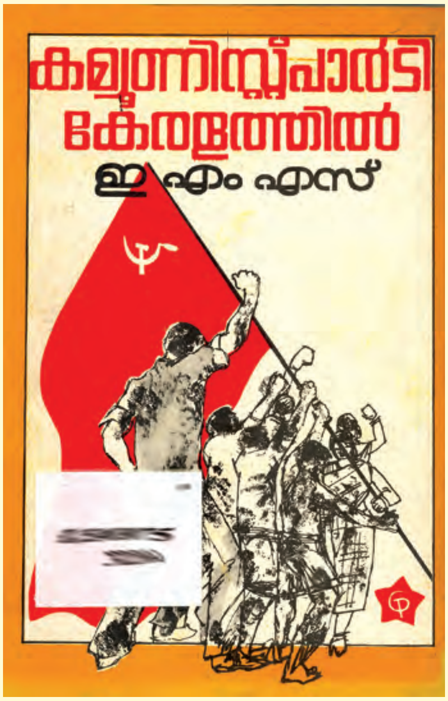
Congress as social and ideological coalition

You have already studied the history of how Congress evolved from its origins in 1885 as a pressure group for the newly educated, professional and commercial classes to a mass movement in the twentieth century. This laid the basis for its eventual transformation into a mass political party and its subsequent domination of the political system. Thus the Congress began as a party dominated by the English speaking, upper caste, upper middle-class and urban elite. But with every civil disobedience movement it launched, its social base widened. It brought together diverse groups, whose interests were often contradictory. Peasants and industrialists, urban dwellers and villagers, workers and owners, middle, lower and upper classes and castes, all found space in the Congress. Gradually, its leadership also expanded beyond the upper caste and upper class professionals to agriculture based leaders with a rural orientation. By the time of Independence, the Congress was transformed into a rainbow-like social coalition broadly representing India's diversity in terms of classes and castes, religions and languages and various interests.

Many of these groups merged their identity within the Congress. Very often they did not and continued to exist within the Congress as groups and individuals holding different beliefs. In this sense the Congress was an ideological coalition as well. It accommodated the revolutionary and pacifist, conservative and radical, extremist and moderate and the right, left and all shades of the centre. The Congress was a 'platform' for numerous groups, interests and even political parties to take part in the national movement. In pre-Independence days, many organisations and parties with their own constitution and organisational structure were allowed to exist within the Congress.


Earlier we had coalition in a party, now we have coalition of parties. Does it mean that we have had a coalition government since 1952?
COALITION IN PARTY
COALITION OF PARTIES

The Communist Party of India (CPI)



In the early 1920s communist groups emerged in different parts of India taking inspiration from the Bolshevik revolution in Russia and advocating socialism as the solution to problems affecting the country. From 1935, the Communists worked mainly from within the fold of the Indian National Congress. A parting of ways took place in December 1941, when the Communists decided to support the British in their war against Nazi Germany. Unlike other non-Congress parties the CPI had a well-oiled party machinery and dedicated cadre at the time of Independence. However, Independence raised different voices in the party. The basic question that troubled the party was the nature of Indian independence. Was India really free or was freedom a sham?

Soon after Independence, the party thought that the transfer of power in 1947 was not true independence and encouraged violent uprisings in Telangana. The Communists failed to generate popular support for their position and were crushed by the armed forces. This forced them to rethink their position. In 1951 the Communist Party abandoned the path of violent revolution and decided to participate in the approaching general elections. In the first general election, CPI won 16 seats and emerged as the largest opposition party. The party's support was more concentrated in Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Bihar and Kerala.

A. K. Gopalan, S.A. Dange, E.M.S. Namboodiripad, P.C. Joshi, Ajay Ghosh and P. Sundarraya were among the notable leaders of the CPI. The Party went through a major split in 1964 following the ideological rift between Soviet Union and China. The pro-Soviet faction remained as the CPI, while the opponents formed the CPI(M). Both these parties continue to exist to this day.

भारत
INDIA
100
ए.के. गोपालन A.K. GOPALAN
1990

A.K. Gopalan (1904-1977): Communist leader from Kerala, worked as a Congress worker initially; joined the Communist Party in 1939; after the split in the Communist Party in 1964, joined the CPI (M) and worked for strengthening the party; respected as a parliamentarian; Member of Parliament from 1952.

Some of these, like the Congress Socialist Party, later separated from the Congress and became opposition parties. Despite differences regarding the methods, specific programmes and policies the party managed to contain if not resolve differences and build a consensus.

Tolerance and management of factions

This coalition-like character of the Congress gave it an unusual strength. Firstly, a coalition accommodates all those who join it. Therefore, it has to avoid any extreme position and strike a balance on almost all issues. Compromise and inclusiveness are the hallmarks of a coalition. This strategy put the opposition in a difficulty. Anything that the opposition wanted to say, would also find a place in the programme and ideology of the Congress. Secondly, in a party that has the nature of a coalition, there is a greater tolerance of internal differences and ambitions of various groups and leaders are accommodated. The Congress did both these things during the freedom struggle and continued doing this even after Independence. That is why, even if a group was not happy with the position of the party or with its share of power, it would remain inside the party and fight the other groups rather than leaving the party and becoming an 'opposition'.

These groups inside the party are called factions. The coalitional nature of the Congress party tolerated and in fact encouraged various factions. Some of these factions were based on ideological considerations but very often these factions were rooted in personal ambitions and rivalries. Instead of being a weakness, internal factionalism became a strength of

Let's watch a Film

SIMHASAN

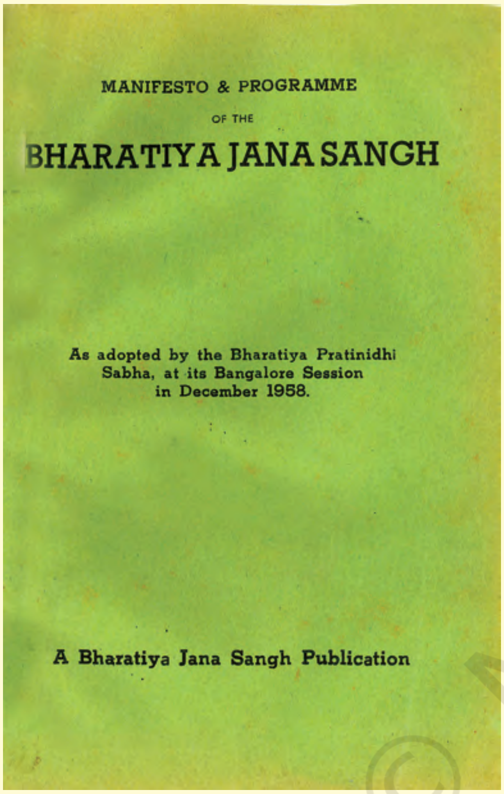
EVEREST
सिंहासन
DVD

This Marathi film, based on Arun Sadhu's two novels 'Simhasan' and 'Mumbai Dinank', depicts the tussle for the post of Chief Minister in Maharashtra. The story is told through journalist Digu Tipnis as the silent 'Sutradhar'. It tries to capture the intense power struggle within the ruling party and the secondary role of the Opposition.

Finance Minister, Vishwasrao Dabhade is making all-out efforts to unseat the incumbent Chief Minister. Both contenders are trying to woo trade union leader D'Casta to obtain his support. In this factional fight, other politicians too seek to obtain maximum advantage while bargaining with both sides. Smuggling in Mumbai and the grim social reality in rural Maharashtra form the sub-plots in this film.

Year: 1981
Director: Jabbar Patel
Screenplay: Vijay Tendulkar
Cast: Nilu Phule, Arun Sarnaik, Dr.Shreeram Lagoo, Satish Dubashi, Datta Bhat, Madhukar Toradmal, Madhav Watve, Mohan Agashe

Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS)


MANIFESTO & PROGRAMME

OF THE

BHARATIYA JANA SANGH

As adopted by the Bharatiya Pratinidhi
Sabha, at its Bangalore Session
in December 1958.

A Bharatiya Jana Sangh Publication

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh was formed in 1951 with Shyama Prasad Mukherjee as its founder-President. Its lineage however can be traced back to the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and the Hindu Mahasabha before Independence.

The Jana Sangh was different from other parties in terms of ideology and programmes. It emphasised the idea of one country, one culture and one nation and believed that the country could become modern, progressive and strong on the basis of Indian culture and traditions. The party called for a reunion of India and Pakistan in Akhand Bharat. The party was in forefront of the agitation to replace English with Hindi as the official language of India and was also opposed to the granting of concessions to religious and cultural minorities. The party was a consistent advocate of India developing nuclear weapons especially after China carried out its atomic tests in 1964.

In the 1950s Jana Sangh remained on the margins of the electoral politics and was able to secure only 3 Lok Sabha seats in 1952 elections and 4 seats in 1957 general elections to Lok Sabha. In the early years its support came mainly from the urban areas in the Hindi speaking states like Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Delhi and Uttar Pradesh. The party's leaders included Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Deen Dayal Upadhyaya and Balraj Madhok. The Bharatiya Janata Party traces its roots to the Bharatiya Jana Sangh.

25
भारत
INDIA
दीनदयाल उपाध्याय
DEENDAYAL UPADHYAYA 1916-1968
1978

Deen Dayal Upadhyaya (1916-1968): Full-time RSS worker since 1942; founder member of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh; General Secretary and later President of Bharatiya Jana Sangh; initiated the concept of integral humanism.

the Congress. Since there was room within the party for various factions to fight with each other, it meant that leaders representing different interests and ideologies remained within the Congress rather than go out and form a new party.

Most of the state units of the Congress were made up of numerous factions. The factions took different ideological positions making the Congress appear as a grand centrist party. The other parties primarily attempted to influence these factions and thereby indirectly influenced policy and decision making from the “margins”. They were far removed from the actual exercise of authority. They were not alternatives to the ruling party; instead they constantly pressurised and criticised, censured and influenced the Congress. The system of factions functioned as balancing mechanism within the ruling party. Political competition therefore took place within the Congress. In that sense, in the first decade of electoral competition the Congress acted both as the ruling party as well as the opposition. That is why this period of Indian politics has been described as the ‘Congress system’.

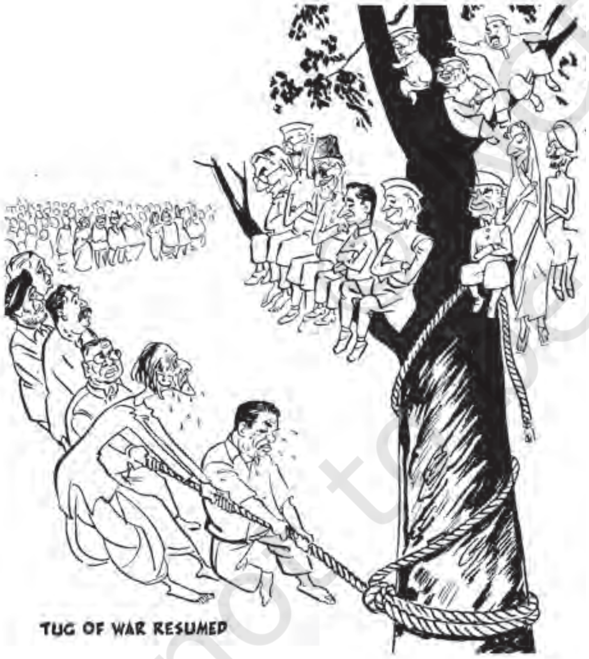
I thought factions were a disease that needed to be cured. You make it sound as if factions are normal and good.

Emergence of opposition parties

As we have noted above, it is not that India did not have opposition parties during this period. While discussing the results of the elections, we have already come across the names of many parties other than the Congress. Even then India had a larger number of diverse and vibrant opposition parties than many other multi-party democracies. Some of these had come into being even before the first general election of 1952. Some of these parties played an important part in the politics of the country in the ’sixties and ’seventies. The roots of almost all the non-Congress parties of today can be traced to one or the other of the opposition parties of the 1950s.

All these opposition parties succeeded in gaining only a token representation in the Lok Sabha and state assemblies during this period. Yet their presence played a crucial role in maintaining the democratic character of the system. These parties offered a sustained and often principled criticism of the policies and practices of the Congress party. This kept the ruling party under check and often changed the balance of power within the Congress. By keeping democratic political alternative alive,

Credit: Shankar



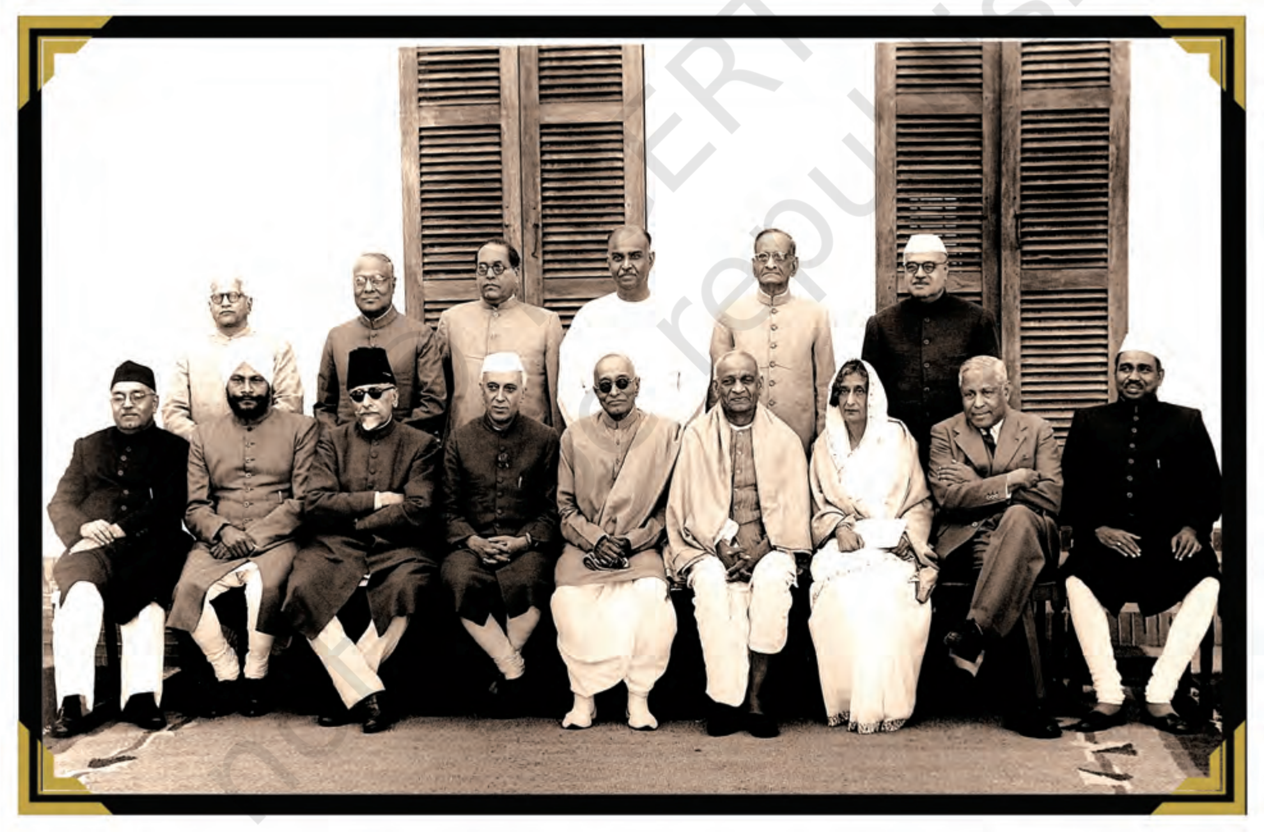
“Tug of War” (29 August 1954) is a cartoonist’s impression of the relative strength of the opposition and the government. Sitting on the tree are Nehru and his cabinet colleagues. Trying to topple the tree are opposition leaders A. K. Gopalan, Acharya Kripalani, N.C. Chatterjee, Srikantan Nair and Sardar Hukum Singh.

these parties prevented the resentment with the system from turning anti-democratic. These parties also groomed the leaders who were to play a crucial role in the shaping of our country.

In the early years there was a lot of mutual respect between the leaders of the Congress and those of the opposition. The interim government that ruled the country after the declaration of Independence and the first general election included opposition leaders like Dr. Ambedkar and Shyama Prasad Mukherjee in the cabinet. Jawaharlal Nehru often referred to his fondness for the Socialist Party and invited socialist leaders like Jayaprakash Narayan to join his government. This kind of personal relationship with and respect for political adversaries declined after the party competition grew more intense.

Thus this first phase of democratic politics in our country was quite unique. The inclusive character of the national movement led by the Congress enabled it to attract different sections, groups and interests making it a broad based social and ideological

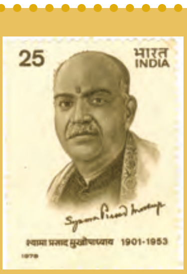
> *"...... Tandon's election is considered (by Congress members) more important than my presence in the Govt or the Congress..... .. ..I have completely exhausted my utility both in the Congress and Govt."*
>
> ***Jawaharlal Nehru***
> in a letter to Rajaji, after the election of Tandon as Congress president against his wishes.



Nehru's Cabinet after the swearing-in of Chakravarti Rajagopalachari as Governor-General in 1948. Sitting from left to right: Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, Baldev Singh, Maulana Azad, Prime Minister Nehru, Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Mr. John Matthai and Jagjivan Ram. Standing from left to right: Mr. Gadgil, Mr. Neogi, Dr. Ambedkar, Shyama Prasad Mukherji, Mr. Gopalaswamy Iyengar and Mr. Jayramdas Daulatram.

coalition. The key role of the Congress in the freedom struggle thus gave it a head start over others. As the ability of the Congress to accommodate all interests and all aspirants for political power steadily declined, other political parties started gaining greater significance. Thus, Congress dominance constitutes only one phase in the politics of the country. We shall come to the other phases in later parts of this textbook.

Shyama Prasad Mukherjee (1901-1953): Leader of Hindu Mahasabha; founder of Bharatiya Jana Sangh; Minister in Nehru's first cabinet after Independence; resigned in 1950 due to differences over relations with Pakistan; Member of Constituent Assembly and later, the first Lok Sabha; was opposed to India's policy of autonomy to Jammu & Kashmir; arrested during Jana Sangh's agitation against Kashmir policy; died during detention.



EXERCISES

1. Choose the correct option to fill in the blanks.
   (a) The First General Elections in 1952 involved simultaneous elections to the Lok Sabha and ....*(The President of India/ State Assemblies/ Rajya Sabha/ The Prime Minister)*
   (b) The party that won the second largest number of Lok Sabha seats in the first elections was the....................*(Praja Socialist Party/ Bharatiya Jana Sangh/ Communist Party of India/Bharatiya Janata Party)*
   (c) One of the guiding principles of the ideology of the Swatantra Party was....................*(Working class interests/ protection of Princely States / economy free from State control / Autonomy of States within the Union)*

2. Match the following leaders listed in List A with the parties in List B.

List A		List B	
(a)	S. A. Dange	i.	Bharatiya Jana Sangh
(b)	Shyama Prasad Mukherjee	ii.	Swatantra Party
(c)	Minoo Masani	iii.	Praja Socialist Party
(d)	Asoka Mehta	iv.	Communist Party of India

3. Four statements regarding one- party dominance are given below. Mark each of them as true or false.
   (a) One-party dominance is rooted in the absence of strong alternative political parties.
   (b) One-party dominance occurs because of weak public opinion.
   (c) One-party dominance is linked to the nation's colonial past.
   (d) One-party dominance reflects the absence of democratic ideals in a country.

4. Take a political map of India (with State outlines) and mark:
    - (a) two states where Congress was not in power at some point during 1952-67.
    - (b) two states where the Congress remained in power through this period.

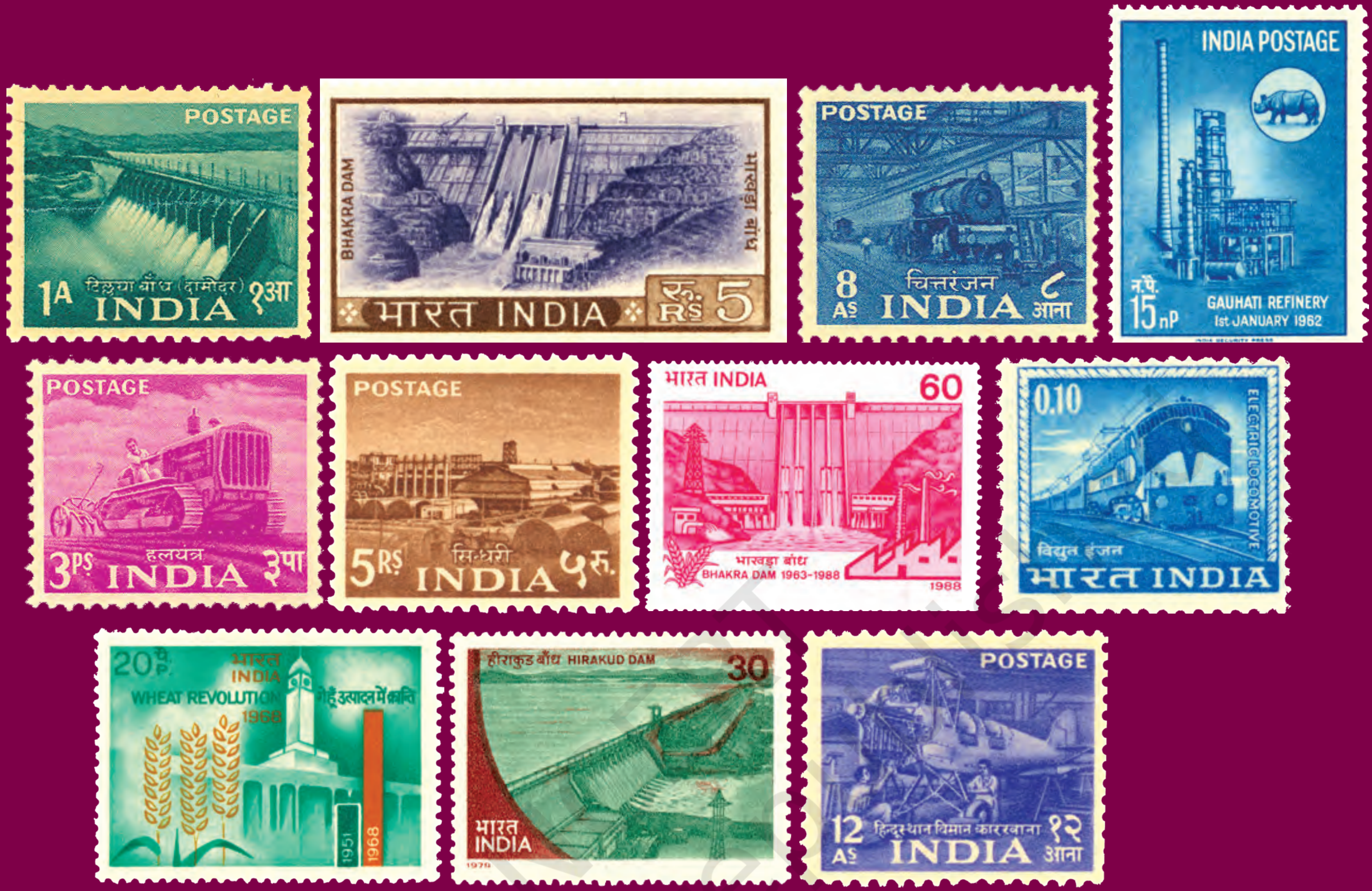
5. Read the following passage and answer the questions below:

    "Patel, the organisational man of the Congress, wanted to purge the Congress of other political groups and sought to make of it a cohesive and disciplined political party. He …. sought to take the Congress away from its all-embracing character and turn it into a close-knit party of disciplined cadres. Being a 'realist' he looked more for discipline than for comprehension. While Gandhi took too romantic a view of "carrying on the movement," Patel's idea of transforming the Congress into strictly political party with a single ideology and tight discipline showed an equal lack of understanding of the eclectic role that the Congress, as a government, was to be called upon to perform in the decades to follow." — RAJNI KOTHARI

    - (a) Why does the author think that Congress should not have been a cohesive and disciplined party?
    - (b) Give some examples of the eclectic role of the Congress party in the early years.
    - (c) Why does the author say that Gandhi's view about Congress' future was romantic?

LET US DO IT TOGETHER

Make a chart of elections and governments in your State since 1952. The chart could have the following columns: year of election, name of the winning party, name of ruling party or parties, name of the Chief Minister(s).


POSTAGE
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BHAKRA DAM
भाखड़ा बाँध
भारत INDIA रु. Rs 5
POSTAGE
8 AS चित्तरंजन INDIA ८ आना
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न.पै. 15 nP
GAUHATI REFINERY
Ist JANUARY 1962
POSTAGE
3PS हलयंत्र INDIA ३पा
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भारत INDIA 60
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WHEAT REVOLUTION
गेहूँ उत्पादन में क्रान्ति
1968
1951
1968
हीराकुड बाँध HIRAKUD DAM
30
भारत INDIA
1979
POSTAGE
12 AS हिन्दुस्तान विमान कारखाना १२ आना INDIA

Stamps like these, issued mostly between 1955 and 1968, depicted a vision of planned development. Left to right, top to bottom: Damodar Valley, Bhakra Dam, Chittaranjan Locomotives, Gauhati Refinery, Tractor, Sindri Fertilisers, Bhakra Dam, Electric Train, Wheat Revolution, Hirakud Dam, Hindustan Aircraft Factory

In this chapter...

In the last two chapters we have studied how the leaders of independent India responded to the challenges of nation-building and establishing democracy. Let us now turn to the third challenge, that of economic development to ensure well-being of all. As in the case of the first two challenges, our leaders chose a path that was different and difficult. In this case their success was much more limited, for this challenge was tougher and more enduring.

In this chapter, we study the story of political choices involved in some of the key questions of economic development.

- What were the key choices and debates about development?
- Which strategy was adopted by our leaders in the first two decades? And why?
- What were the main achievements and limitations of this strategy?
- Why was this development strategy abandoned in later years?

CHAPTER 3

POLITICS OF PLANNED DEVELOPMENT

12119CH03

As the global demand for steel increases, Orissa, which has one of the largest reserves of untapped iron ore in the country, is being seen as an important investment destination. The State government hopes to cash in on this unprecedented demand for iron ore and has signed Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with both international and domestic steel makers. The government believes that this would bring in necessary capital investment and proivde a lot of employment opportunities. The iron ore resources lie in some of the most underdeveloped and predominantly tribal districts of the state. The tribal population fears that the setting up of industries would mean displacement from their home and livelihood. The environmentalists fear that mining and industry would pollute the environment. The central government feels that if the industry is not allowed it would set a bad example and discourage investments in the country.

Can you identify the various interests involved in this case? What are their key points of conflict? Do you think there are any common points on which everyone can agree? Can this issue be resolved in a way which satisfies all the various interests? As you ask these questions, you would find yourself facing yet bigger questions. What kind of development does Orissa need? Indeed, whose need can be called Orissa's need?

Political contestation

These questions cannot be answered by an expert. Decisions of this kind involve weighing the interests of one social group against another, present generation against future generations. In a democracy such major decisions should be taken or at least approved by the people themselves. It is important to take advice from experts on mining, from environmentalists and from economists. Yet the final decision must be a political decision, taken by people's representatives who are in touch with the feelings of the people.

After Independence our country had to make a series of major decisions like this. Each of these decisions could not be made independent of other such decisions. All these decisions were bound together by a shared vision or model of economic development. Almost everyone agreed

Orissa villagers protest against POSCO plant

Staff Reporter

BHUBANESWAR: People facing displacement by the proposed POSCO-India steel plant in Jagatsinghpur district staged a demonstration outside the Korean company's office here on Thursday. They were demanding cancellation of the memorandum of understanding signed between the company and the Orissa government one year ago.

More than 100 men and women from the gram panchayats of Dhinkia, Nuagaon and Gadakujanga tried to enter the office premises but the police prevented them. Raising slogans, the protesters said the company should not be allowed to set up its plant at the cost of their lives and livelihood. The demonstration was organised by the Rashtriya Yuva Sangathan and the Nabanirman Samiti.

The Hindu, 23 June 2006

that the development of India should mean both economic growth and social and economic justice. It was also agreed that this matter cannot be left to businessmen, industrialists and farmers themselves, that the government should play a key role in this. There was disagreement, however, on the kind of role that the government must play in ensuring growth with justice. Was it necessary to have a centralised institution to plan for the entire country? Should the government itself run some key industries and business? How much importance was to be attached to the needs of justice if it differed from the requirements of economic growth?

Each of these questions involved contestation which has continued ever since. Each of the decision had political consequence. Most of these issues involved political judgement and required consultations among political parties and approval of the public. That is why we need to study the process of development as a part of the history of politics in India.

What is Left and what is Right?

In the politics of most countries, you will always come across references to parties and groups with a Left or Right ideology or leaning. These terms characterise the position of the concerned groups or parties regarding social change and role of the state in effecting economic redistribution. Left often refers to those who are in favour of state control of the economy and prefers state regulation over free competition. The Right refers to those who believe that free competition and market economy alone ensure progress and that the government should not unnecessarily intervene in the economy.

Can you tell which of the parties in the 1960s were Rightist and which were the Left parties? Where would you place the Congress party of that time?

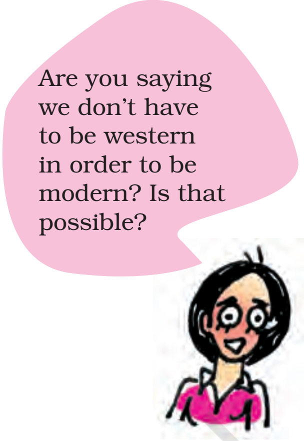
Ideas of development

Very often this contestation involves the very idea of development. The example of Orissa shows us that it is not enough to say that everyone wants development. For 'development' has different meanings for different sections of the people. Development would mean different things for example, to an industrialist who is planning to set up a steel plant, to an urban consumer of steel and to the Adivasi who lives in that region. Thus any discussion on development is bound to generate contradictions, conflicts and debates.

The first decade after Independence witnessed a lot of debate around this question. It was common then, as it is even now, for people to refer to the 'West' as the standard for measuring development. 'Development' was about becoming more 'modern' and modern was about becoming more like the industrialised countries of the West. This is how common people as well as the experts thought. It was believed that every country would go through the process of modernisation as in the West, which involved the breakdown of traditional social structures and the rise of capitalism and liberalism. Modernisation was also associated with the ideas of growth, material progress and scientific rationality. This kind of idea of development allowed everyone to talk about different countries as developed, developing or underdeveloped.

On the eve of Independence, India had before it, two models of modern development: the liberal-capitalist model as in much of Europe and the US and the socialist model as in the USSR. You have already studied these two ideologies and read about the 'cold war' between the two super powers. There were many in India then who were deeply impressed by the Soviet model of development. These included not just the leaders of the Communist Party of India, but also those of the Socialist Party and leaders like Nehru within the Congress. There were very few supporters of the American style capitalist development.

This reflected a broad consensus that had developed during the national movement. The nationalist leaders were clear that the economic concerns of the government of free India would have to be different from the narrowly defined commercial functions of the colonial government. It was clear, moreover, that the task of poverty alleviation and social and economic redistribution was being seen primarily as the responsibility of the government. There were debates among them. For some, industrialisation seemed to be the preferred path. For others, the development of agriculture and in particular alleviation of rural poverty was the priority.

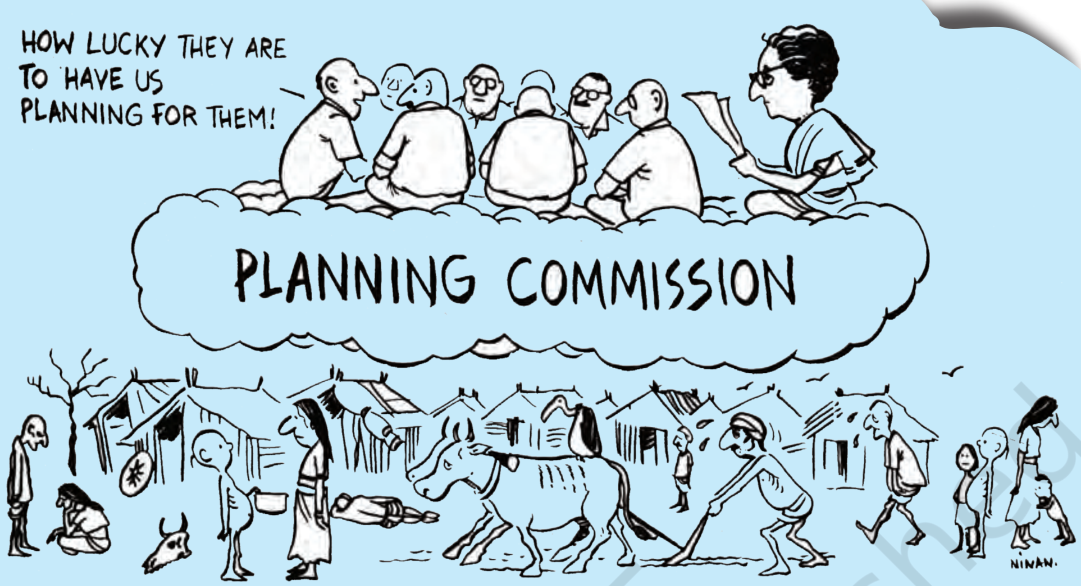

Are you saying we don't have to be western in order to be modern? Is that possible?

Planning

Despite the various differences, there was a consensus on one point: that development could not be left to private actors, that there was the need for the government to develop a design or plan for development.

Credit: Hindustan Times

Nehru addressing the staff of the Planning Commission


HOW LUCKY THEY ARE TO HAVE US PLANNING FOR THEM!
PLANNING COMMISSION
NINAN.

Credit:Ninan

Planning Commission

Do you recall any reference to the Planning Commission in your book *Constitution at Work* last year? Actually there was none, for the Planning Commission is not one of the many commissions and other bodies set up by the Constitution. The Planning Commission was set up in March, 1950 by a simple resolution of the Government of India. It has an advisory role and its recommendations become effective only when the Union Cabinet approved these. The resolution which set up the Commission defined the scope of its work in the following terms :

“The Constitution of India has guaranteed certain Fundamental Rights to the citizens of India and enunciated certain Directive Principles of State Policy, in particular, that the State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting….a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall …….. …. direct its policy towards securing, among other things,

(a) that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood ;

(b) that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good; and

(c) that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment.

PLANNING COMMISSION

I wonder if the Planning Commission has actually followed these objectives in practice.

Fast Forward ▶▶

Niti Aayog

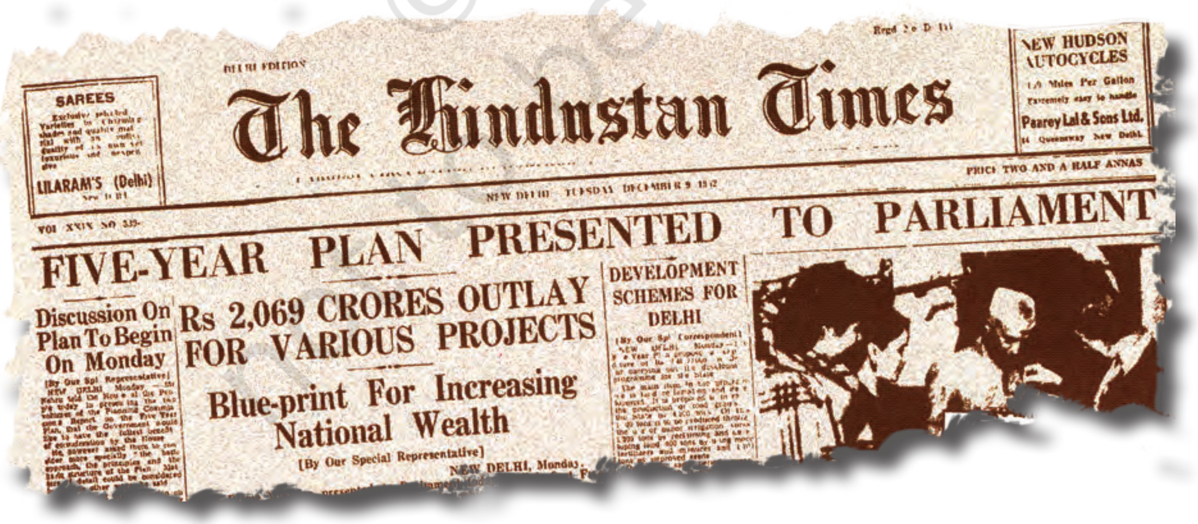
The Government of India replaced the Planning Commission with a new institution named NITI Aayog (National Institution for Transforming India). This came into existence on 1 January 2015. Find out about its objectives and composition from the website, http://niti.gov.in

In fact the idea of planning as a process of rebuilding economy earned a good deal of public support in the 1940s and 1950s all over the world. The experience of Great Depression in Europe, the inter-war reconstruction of Japan and Germany, and most of all the spectacular economic growth against heavy odds in the Soviet Union in the 1930s and 1940s contributed to this consensus.

Thus the Planning Commission was not a sudden invention. In fact, it has a very interesting history. We commonly assume that private investors, such as industrialists and big business entrepreneurs, are averse to ideas of planning: they seek an open economy without any state control in the flow of capital. That was not what happened here. Rather, a section of the big industrialists got together in 1944 and drafted a joint proposal for setting up a planned economy in the country. It was called the Bombay Plan. The Bombay Plan wanted the state to take major initiatives in industrial and other economic investments. Thus, from left to right, planning for development was the most obvious choice for the country after Independence. Soon after India became independent, the Planning Commission came into being. The Prime Minister was its Chairperson. It became the most influential and central machinery for deciding what path and strategy India would adopt for its development.

The Early Initiatives

As in the USSR, the Planning Commission of India opted for five year plans (FYP). The idea is very simple: the Government of India prepares a document that has a plan for all its income and expenditure for the next five years. Accordingly the budget of the central and all the State governments is divided into two parts: 'non-plan' budget that is spent on routine items on a yearly basis and 'plan' budget that is spent on



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The Hindustan Times

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NEW DELHI TUESDAY DECEMBER 9 1952

PRICE TWO AND A HALF ANNAS

FIVE-YEAR PLAN PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT

Discussion On Plan To Begin On Monday

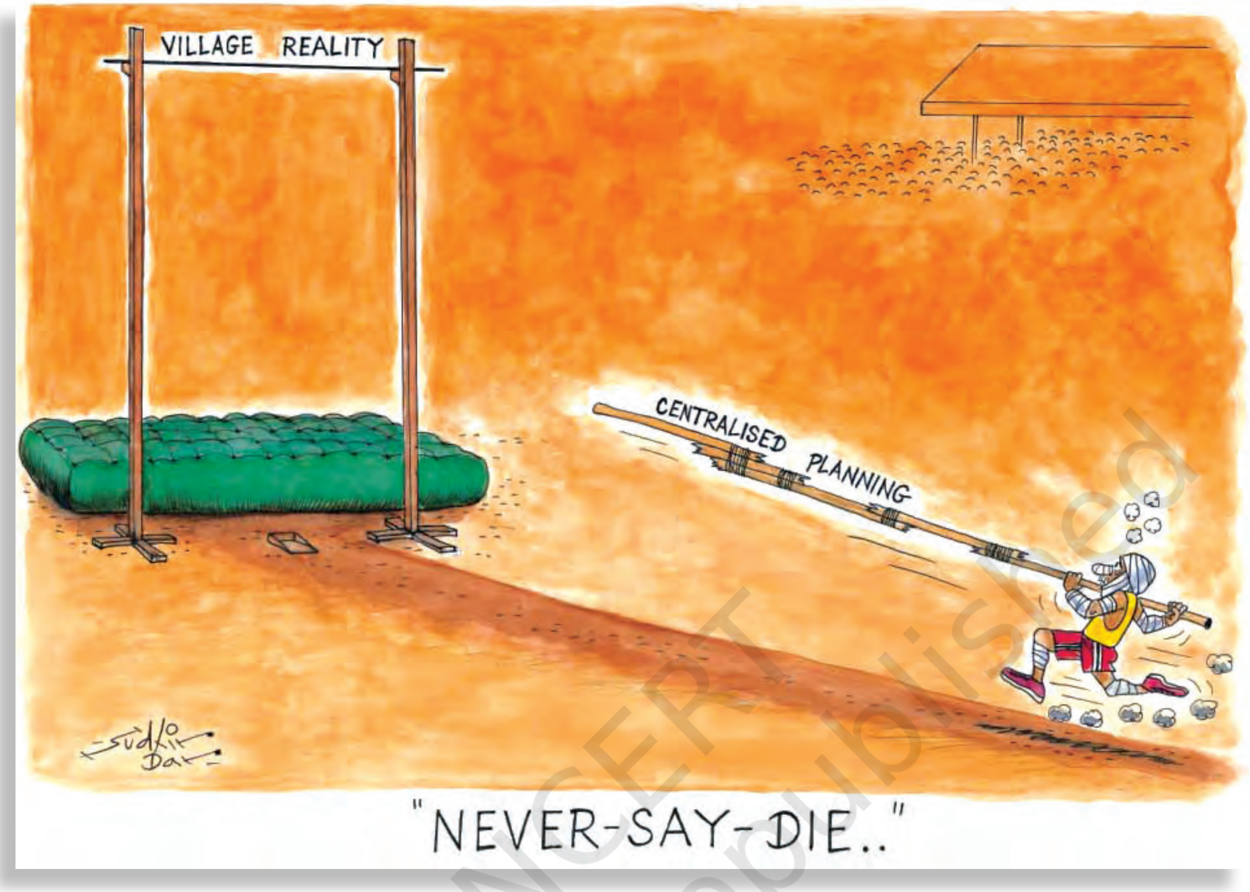
Rs 2,069 CRORES OUTLAY FOR VARIOUS PROJECTS

Blue-print For Increasing National Wealth

[By Our Special Representative]

NEW DELHI, Monday.

DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES FOR DELHI



Credit: Sudhir Dar/UNDP and Planning Commission

a five year basis as per the priorities fixed by the plan. A five year plan has the advantage of permitting the government to focus on the larger picture and make long-term intervention in the economy.

The draft of the First Five Year Plan and then the actual Plan Document, released in December 1951, generated a lot of excitement in the country. People from all walks of life – academics, journalists, government and private sector employees, industrialists, farmers, politicians etc. – discussed and debated the documents extensively. The excitement with planning reached its peak with the launching of the Second Five Year Plan in 1956 and continued somewhat till the Third Five Year Plan in 1961. The Fourth Plan was due to start in 1966. By this time, the novelty of planning had declined considerably, and moreover, India was facing acute economic crisis. The government decided to take a 'plan holiday'. Though many criticisms emerged both about the process and the priorities of these plans, the foundation of India's economic development was firmly in place by then.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

THE FIRST
FIVE YEAR PLAN

PLANNING COMMISSION

First Five Year Plan document

The First Five Year Plan

The First Five Year Plan (1951–1956) sought to get the country's economy out of the cycle of poverty. K.N. Raj, a young economist involved in drafting the plan, argued that India should 'hasten slowly' for the first two decades as a fast rate of development might endanger democracy. The First Five Year Plan addressed, mainly, the agrarian sector including investment in dams and irrigation. Agricultural sector was hit hardest by Partition and needed urgent attention. Huge allocations were made for large-scale projects like the Bhakhra Nangal Dam. The Plan identified the pattern of land distribution in the country as the principal obstacle in the way of agricultural growth. It focused on land reforms as the key to the country's development.

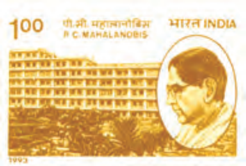
One of the basic aims of the planners was to raise the level of national income, which could be possible only if the people saved more money than they spent. As the basic level of spending was very low in the 1950s, it could not be reduced any more. So the planners sought to push savings up. That too was difficult as the total capital stock in the country was rather low compared to the total number of employable people. Nevertheless, people's savings did rise in the first phase of the planned process until the end of the Third Five Year Plan. But, the rise was not as spectacular as was expected at the beginning of the First Plan. Later, from the early 1960s till the early 1970s, the proportion of savings in the country actually dropped consistently.

Planning Commission
Government of India
New Delhi
10
Tenth
Five Year Plan
2002-2007
Volume - I
Dimensions and Strategies

Tenth Five Year Plan document

Rapid Industrialisation

The Second FYP stressed on heavy industries. It was drafted by a team of economists and planners under the leadership of P. C. Mahalanobis. If the first plan had preached patience, the second wanted to bring about quick structural transformation by making changes simultaneously in all possible directions. Before this plan was finalised, the Congress party at its session held at Avadi near the then Madras city, passed an important resolution. It declared that 'socialist pattern of society' was its goal. This was reflected in the Second Plan. The government imposed substantial tariffs on imports in order to protect domestic industries. Such protected environment helped both public and private sector industries to grow. As savings and investment were growing in this period, a bulk of these industries like electricity, railways, steel, machineries and communication could be developed in the public sector. Indeed, such a push for industrialisation marked a turning point in India's development.



P.C. Mahalanobis (1893-1972): Scientist and statistician of international repute; founder of Indian Statistical Institute (1931); architect of the Second Plan; supporter of rapid industrialisation and active role of the public sector.

It, however, had its problems as well. India was technologically backward, so it had to spend precious foreign exchange to buy technology from the global market. That apart, as industry attracted more investment than agriculture, the possibility of food shortage loomed large. The Indian planners found balancing industry and agriculture really difficult. The Third Plan was not significantly different from the Second. Critics pointed out that the plan strategies from this time around displayed an unmistakable "urban bias". Others thought that industry was wrongly given priority over agriculture. There were also those who wanted focus on agriculture-related industries rather than heavy ones.

EXERCISES

1. Which of these statements about the Bombay Plan is incorrect?
   (a) It was a blueprint for India's economic future.
   (b) It supported state-ownership of industry.
   (c) It was made by some leading industrialists.
   (d) It supported strongly the idea of planning.n

2. Which of the following ideas did not form part of the early phase of India's development policy?
   (a) Planning (c) Cooperative Farming
   (b) Liberalisation (d) Self sufficiency

3. The idea of planning in India was drawn from
   (a) the Bombay plan (c) Gandhian vision of society
   (b) experiences of the Soviet bloc countries (d) Demand by peasant organisations
   i. b and d only iii. a and b only
   ii. d and c only iv. all the above

4. Match the following.
   (a) Charan Singh i. Industrialisation
   (b) P C Mahalanobis ii. Zoning
   (c) Bihar Famine iii. Farmers
   (d) Verghese Kurien iv. Milk Cooperatives

5. What were the major differences in the approach towards development at the time of Independence? Has the debate been resolved?

6. What was the major thrust of the First Five Year Plan? In which ways did the Second Plan differ from the first one?

7. Read the following passage and answer the questions below:
   "In the early years of Independence, two contradictory tendencies were already well advanced inside the Congress party. On the one

hand, the national party executive endorsed socialist principles of state ownership, regulation and control over key sectors of the economy in order to improve productivity and at the same time curb economic concentration. On the other hand, the national Congress government pursued liberal economic policies and incentives to private investment that was justified in terms of the sole criterion of achieving maximum increase in production. " — FRANCINE FRANKEL

(a) What is the contradiction that the author is talking about? What would be the political implications of a contradiction like this?

(b) If the author is correct, why is it that the Congress was pursuing this policy? Was it related to the nature of the opposition parties?

(c) Was there also a contradiction between the central leadership of the Congress party and its Sate level leaders?

Credit: NMML

Nehru with Nkrumah from Ghana, Nasser from Egypt, Sukarno from Indonesia and Tito from Yugoslavia at a meeting of non-aligned nations, New York, October 1960. These five comprised the core leadership of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).

In this chapter…

Thus far we have focussed in this book on the developments within the country and on domestic challenges. We now turn to the external challenges. Here too our leaders faced the challenge with an innovative response by way of the policy of non-alignment. But they also found themselves in conflict with neighbours. This led to three wars in 1962, 1965 and 1971. These wars, and the external relations in general, were shaped by and had their impact on the politics in the country.

In this chapter we study the story of this relationship between the external and the internal politics by focussing on

- the international context that shaped India's external relations;
- the operational principles that informed the country's foreign policy;
- the history of India's relations with China and Pakistan; and
- the evolution of India's nuclear policy.

CHAPTER 4

INDIA'S EXTERNAL RELATIONS

12119CH04

International context

India was born as an independent nation-state in a very trying and challenging international context. The world had witnessed a devastating war and was grappling with issues of reconstruction; yet another attempt to establish an international body was underway; many new countries were emerging as a result of the collapse of colonialism; and most new nations were trying to come to terms with the twin challenges of welfare and democracy. Free India's foreign policy reflected all these concerns in the period immediately after Independence. Apart from these factors at the global level, India had its own share of concerns. The British government left behind the legacy of many international disputes; Partition created its own pressures, and the task of poverty alleviation was already waiting for fulfilment. This was the overall context in which India started participating in the world affairs as an independent nation-state.

As a nation born in the backdrop of the world war, India decided to conduct its foreign relations with an aim to respect the sovereignty of all other nations and to achieve security through the maintenance of peace. This aim finds an echo in the Directive Principles of State Policy.

> "What does independence consist of? It consists fundamentally and basically of foreign relations. That is the test of independence. All else is local autonomy. Once foreign relations go out of your hands into the charge of somebody else, to that extent and in that measure you are not independent."
>
> **Jawaharlal Nehru** during a debate in the Constituent Assembly in March 1949.

Just as both internal and external factors guide the behaviour of an individual or a family, both domestic and international environment influence the foreign policy of a nation. The developing countries lack the required resources to effectively advocate their concerns in the international system. So they pursue more modest goals than the advanced states. They focus more on peace and development in their own neighbourhood. Moreover, their economic and security dependence on the more powerful states occasionally influences their foreign policy. In the period immediately after the Second World War, many developing nations chose to support the foreign policy preferences of the powerful countries who were giving them aid or credits. This resulted in the division of countries of the world into two clear camps. One was under the influence of the United States and its western allies and the other was under the influence of the then Soviet Union. There was also the experiment called Non- Aligned Movement in which India had played an important role. However, the end of the Cold War changed the context of international relations entirely. But when India achieved its freedom and started framing

The Constitutional principles

Article 51 of the Indian Constitution lays down some Directive Principles of State Policy on 'Promotion of international peace and security'.

"The State shall endeavour to –

(a) Promote international peace and security

(b) Maintain just and honourable relations between nations

(c) Foster respect for international law and treaty obligations in the dealings of organised people with one another; and

(d) Encourage settlement of international disputes by arbitration."

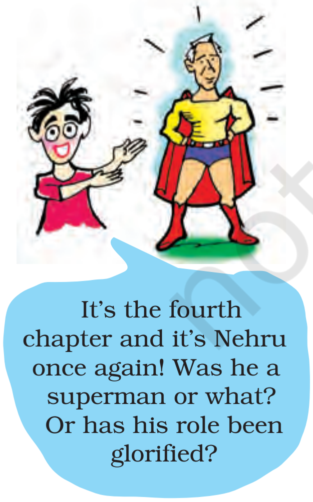
How well did the Indian state live up to these principles in the first two decades after Independence? You may come back to this question after reading the chapter.

its foreign policy, the Cold War was just beginning and the world was getting divided into these two camps. Did India belong to any of these two camps in global politics of the fifties and the sixties? Was it successful in conducting its foreign policy peacefully and avoiding international conflicts?

The Policy of non-alignment

The Indian national movement was not an isolated process. It was a part of the worldwide struggle against colonialism and imperialism. It influenced the liberation movements of many Asian and African countries. Prior to India's Independence, there were contacts between the nationalist leaders of India and those of other colonies, united as they were in their common struggle against colonialism and imperialism. The creation of the Indian National Army (INA) by Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose during the Second World War was the clearest manifestation of the linkages established between India and overseas Indians during the freedom struggle.

The foreign policy of a nation reflects the interplay of domestic and external factors. Therefore, the noble ideals that inspired India's struggle for freedom influenced the making of its foreign policy. But India's attainment of independence coincided with the beginning of the Cold War era, a period which was marked by the political, economic, and military confrontation at the global level between the two blocs led by the superpowers, the US and the USSR. The same period also witnessed developments like the establishment of the UN, the creation of nuclear weapons, the emergence of Communist


It's the fourth chapter and it's Nehru once again! Was he a superman or what? Or has his role been glorified?

China, and the beginning of decolonisation. So India's leadership had to pursue its national interests within the prevailing international context.

Nehru's role

The first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru played a crucial role in setting the national agenda. He was his own foreign minister. Thus both as the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister, he exercised profound influence in the formulation and implementation of India's foreign policy from 1946 to 1964. The three major objectives of Nehru's foreign policy were to preserve the hard-earned sovereignty, protect territorial integrity, and promote rapid economic development. Nehru wished to achieve these objectives through the strategy of non-alignment. There were, of course, parties and groups in the country that believed that India should be more friendly with the bloc led by the US because that bloc claimed to be pro-democracy. Among those who thought on these lines were leaders like Dr Ambedkar. Some political parties, which were opposed to communism, also wanted India to follow a pro-US foreign policy. These included the Bharatiya Jan Sangh and later the Swatantra Party. But Nehru possessed considerable leeway in formulating foreign policy.

Distance from two camps

The foreign policy of independent India vigorously pursued the dream of a peaceful world by advocating the policy of non-alignment, by reducing Cold War tensions and by contributing human resources to the UN peacekeeping operations. You might ask why India did not join either of the two camps during the Cold War era. India wanted to keep away from the military alliances led by US and Soviet Union against each other. During the Cold War, the US-led North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact came into existence. India advocated non-alignment as the ideal foreign policy approach. This was a difficult balancing act and sometimes the balance did not appear perfect. In 1956 when Britain attacked Egypt over the Suez Canal issue, India led the world protest against this neo-colonial invasion. But in the same year when the USSR invaded Hungary, India did not join its public condemnation. Despite such a situation, by and large India did take an independent stand on various international issues and could get aid and assistance from members of both the blocs.

While India was trying to convince the other developing countries about the policy of non-alignment, Pakistan joined the US-led military alliances. The US was not happy about India's independent initiatives and the policy of non-alignment. Therefore, there was a considerable

> *Our general policy is to avoid entanglement in power politics and not to join any group of powers as against any other group. The two leading groups today are the Russian bloc and the Anglo-American bloc. We must be friendly to both and yet not join either. Both America and Russia are extraordinarily suspicious of each other as well as of other countries. This makes our path difficult and we may well be suspected by each of leaning towards the other. This cannot be helped.*
>
> **Jawaharlal Nehru**
> Letter to K .P. S. Menon, January 1947.

unease in Indo-US relations during the 1950s. The US also resented India's growing partnership with the Soviet Union.

You have studied in the last chapter, the strategy of planned economic development adopted by India. This policy emphasised import-substitution. The emphasis on developing a resource base also meant that export oriented growth was limited. This development strategy limited India's economic interaction with the outside world.

Did we have more recognition and power in the world when we were younger, poorer and more vulnerable than now? Isn't that strange?

Afro-Asian unity

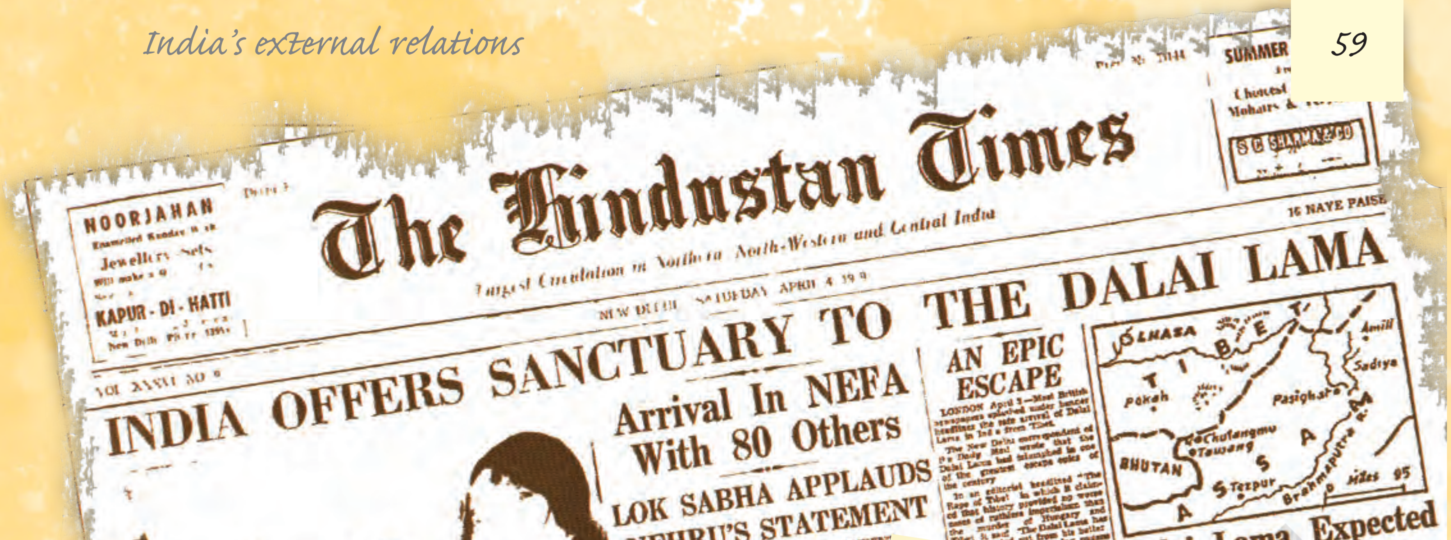
Yet, given its size, location and power potential, Nehru envisaged a major role for India in world affairs and especially in Asian affairs. His era was marked by the establishment of contacts between India and other newly independent states in Asia and Africa. Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, Nehru had been an ardent advocate of Asian unity. Under his leadership, India convened the Asian Relations Conference in March 1947, five months ahead of attaining its independence. India made earnest efforts for the early realisation of freedom of Indonesia from the Dutch colonial regime by convening an international conference in 1949 to support its freedom struggle. India was a staunch supporter of the decolonisation process and firmly opposed racism, especially apartheid in South Africa. The Afro-Asian conference held in the Indonesian city of Bandung in 1955, commonly known as the Bandung Conference, marked the zenith of India's engagement with the newly independent Asian and African nations. The Bandung Conference later led to the establishment of the NAM. The First Summit of the NAM was held in Belgrade in September 1961. Nehru was a co-founder of the NAM.

> *"a country without material, men or money – the three means of power – is now fast coming to be recognised as the biggest moral power in the civilised world ... her word listened to with respect in the councils of the great."*
>
> **C. Rajagopalachari**
> Letter to Edwina Mountbatten, 1950.

Peace and conflict with China

Unlike its relationship with Pakistan, free India began its relationship with China on a very friendly note. After the Chinese revolution in 1949, India was one of the first countries to recognise the communist government. Nehru felt strongly for this neighbour that was coming out of the shadow of western domination and helped the new government in international fora. Some of his colleagues, like Vallabhbhai Patel, were worried about a possible Chinese aggression in future. But Nehru thought it was 'exceedingly unlikely' that India will face an attack from China. For a very long time, the Chinese border was guarded by para-military forces, not the army.

The joint enunciation of Panchsheel, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, by the Indian Prime Minister Nehru and the Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai on 29 April 1954 was a step in the direction of stronger relationship between the two countries. Indian and Chinese leaders visited each other's country and were greeted by large and friendly crowds.



The Hindustan Times

Largest Circulation in Northern North-Western and Central India

NEW DELHI SATURDAY APRIL 4 1959

16 NAYE PAISE

INDIA OFFERS SANCTUARY TO THE DALAI LAMA

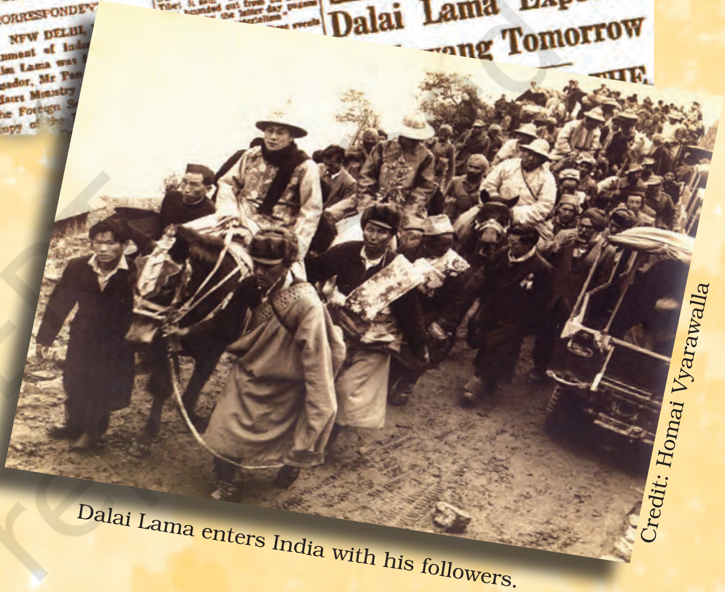
Arrival In NEFA With 80 Others

LOK SABHA APPLAUDS NEHRU'S STATEMENT

AN EPIC ESCAPE

Dalai Lama Expected

LHASA
TIBET
Pokeh
Pasighat
Sadiya
BHUTAN
Tawang
Tezpur
ASSAM
Brahmaputra R.
Miles 95



Dalai Lama enters India with his followers.

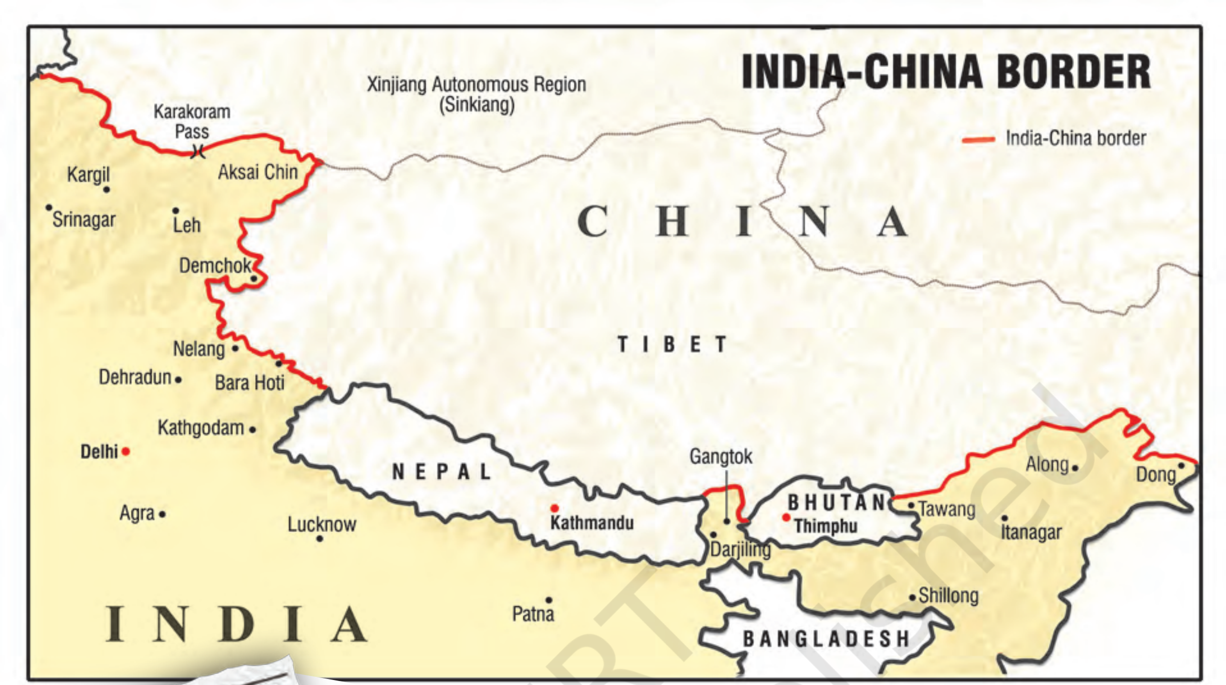
Credit: Homai Vyarawalla

TIBET

The plateau of the central Asian region called Tibet is one of the major issues that historically caused tension between India and China. From time to time in history, China had claimed administrative control over Tibet. And from time to time, Tibet was independent too. In 1950, China took over control of Tibet. Large sections of the Tibetan population opposed this takeover. India tried to persuade China to recognise Tibet's claims for independence. When the Panchsheel agreement was signed between India and China in 1954, through one of its clauses about respecting each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, India conceded China's claim over Tibet. The Tibetan spiritual leader Dalai Lama accompanied the Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai during the official Chinese visit to India in 1956. He informed Nehru about the worsening situation in Tibet. But China had already assured India that Tibet will be given greater autonomy than enjoyed by any other region of China. In 1958, there was armed uprising in Tibet against China's occupation. This was suppressed by the Chinese forces. Sensing that the situation had become worse, in 1959, the Dalai Lama crossed over into the Indian border and sought asylum which was granted. The Chinese government strongly protested against this. Over the last half century, a large number of Tibetans have also sought refuge in India and many other countries of the world. In India, particularly in Delhi, there are large settlements of Tibetan refugees. Dharmashala in Himachal Pradesh is perhaps the largest refuge settlement of Tibetans in India. The Dalai Lama has also made Dharmashala his home in India. In the 1950s and 1960s many political leaders and parties in India including the Socialist Party and the Jan Sangh supported the cause of Tibet's independence.

China has created the Tibet autonomous region, which is an integral part of China. Tibetans oppose the Chinese claim that Tibet is part of Chinese territory. They also oppose the policy of bringing into Tibet more and more Chinese settlers. Tibetans dispute China's claim that autonomy is granted to the region. They think that China wants to undermine the traditional religion and culture of Tibet.

Note: This illustration is not a map drawn to scale and should not be taken to be an authentic depiction of India's external boundaries.


INDIA-CHINA BORDER
India-China border
Xinjiang Autonomous Region (Sinkiang)
Karakoram Pass
Aksai Chin
Kargil
Srinagar
Leh
Demchok
CHINA
TIBET
Nelang
Dehradun
Bara Hoti
Kathgodam
Delhi
NEPAL
Gangtok
BHUTAN
Thimphu
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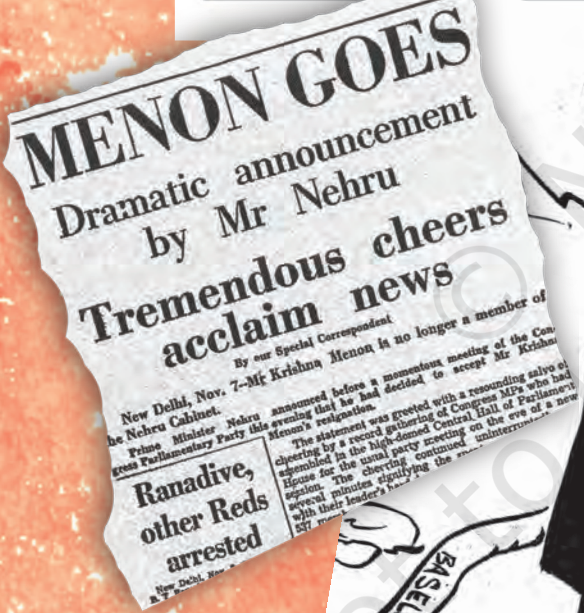
INDIA
BANGLADESH



MENON GOES

Dramatic announcement by Mr Nehru

Tremendous cheers acclaim news

By our Special Correspondent

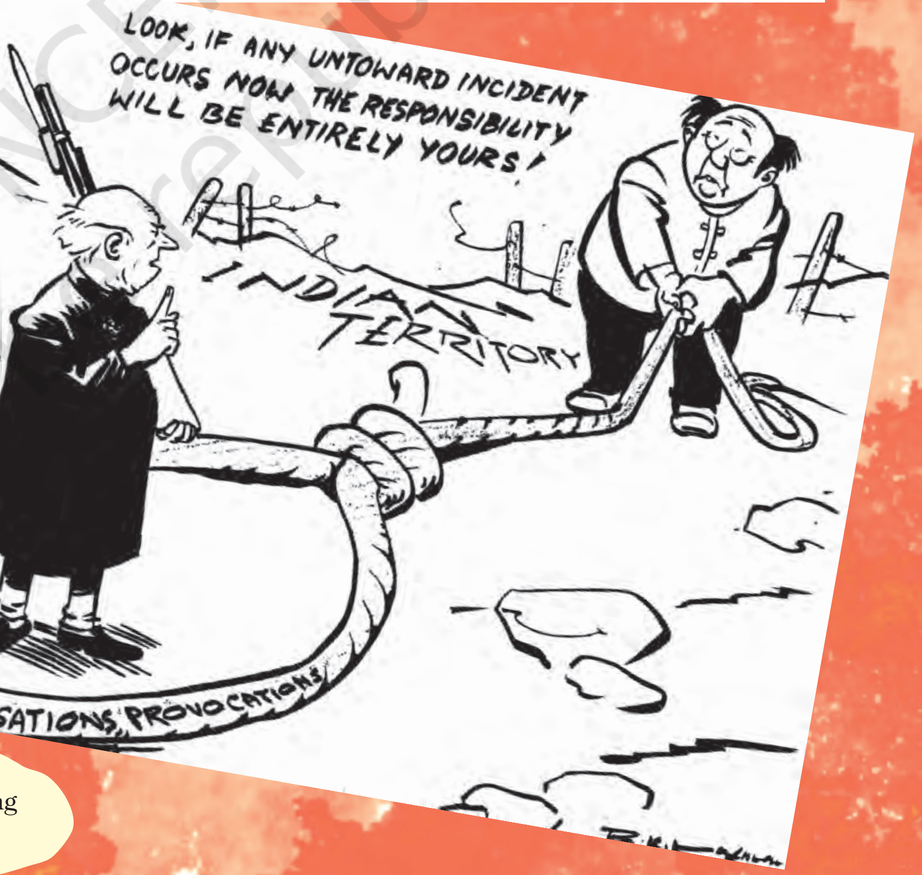
New Delhi, Nov. 7—Mr Krishna Menon is no longer a member of the Con
he Nehru Cabinet.

Prime Minister Nehru announced before a momentous meeting of the Con
gress Parliamentary Party this evening that he had decided to accept Mr Krishna
Menon's resignation.

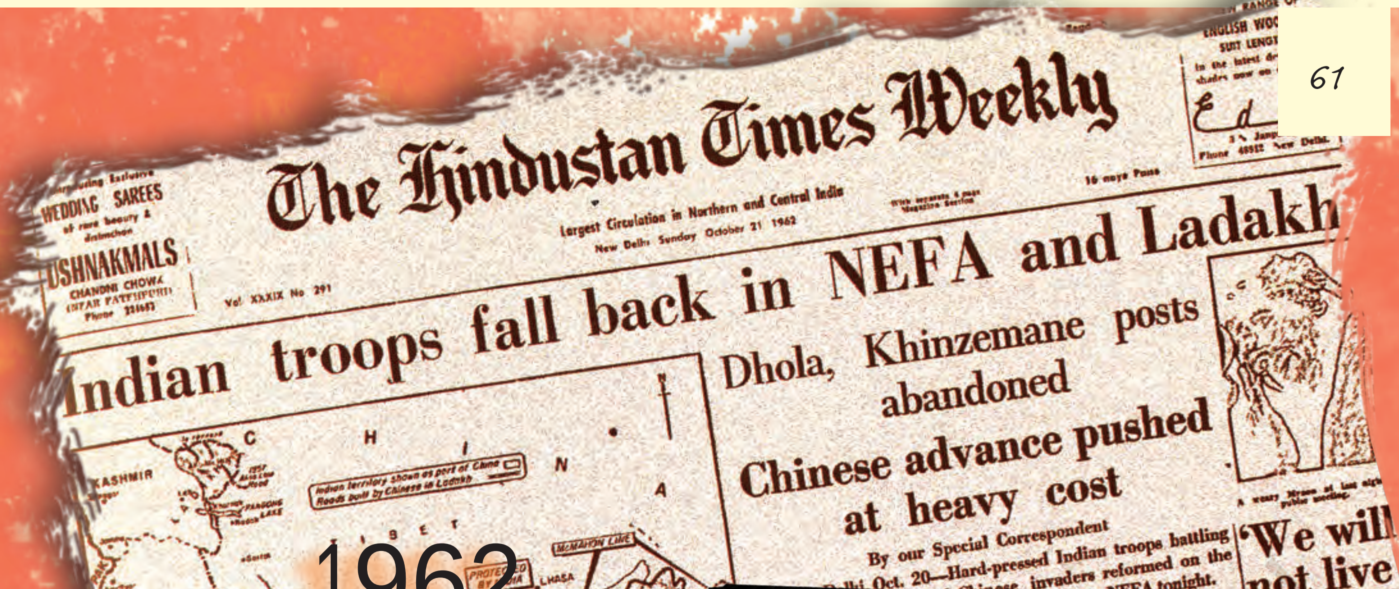
The statement was greeted with a resounding salvo of
cheering by a record gathering of Congress MPs who had
assembled in the high-domed Central Hall of Parliament
House for the usual party meeting on the eve of a new
session. The cheering continued uninterrupt
several minutes signifying the
with their leader's
537

Ranadive, other Reds arrested

New Delhi, Nov.


LOOK, IF ANY UNTOWARD INCIDENT OCCURS NOW THE RESPONSIBILITY WILL BE ENTIRELY YOURS!
INDIAN TERRITORY
BASELESS CHARGES, ACCUSATIONS, PROVOCATIONS

Border disputes with China erupted in 1960. Talks between Nehru and Mao Tsetung proved futile.



The Hindustan Times Weekly

Largest Circulation in Northern and Central India

New Delhi Sunday October 21 1962

Vol XXXIX No 291

16 naye Paise

Introducing Exclusive WEDDING SAREES of rare beauty & distinction

USHNAKMALS
CHANDNI CHOWK

Indian troops fall back in NEFA and Ladakh

Dhola, Khinzemane posts abandoned

Chinese advance pushed at heavy cost

By our Special Correspondent

Delhi Oct. 20—Hard-pressed Indian troops battling ... Chinese invaders reformed on the ... in NEFA tonight.

A weary Nehru at last night's public meeting.

'We will not live

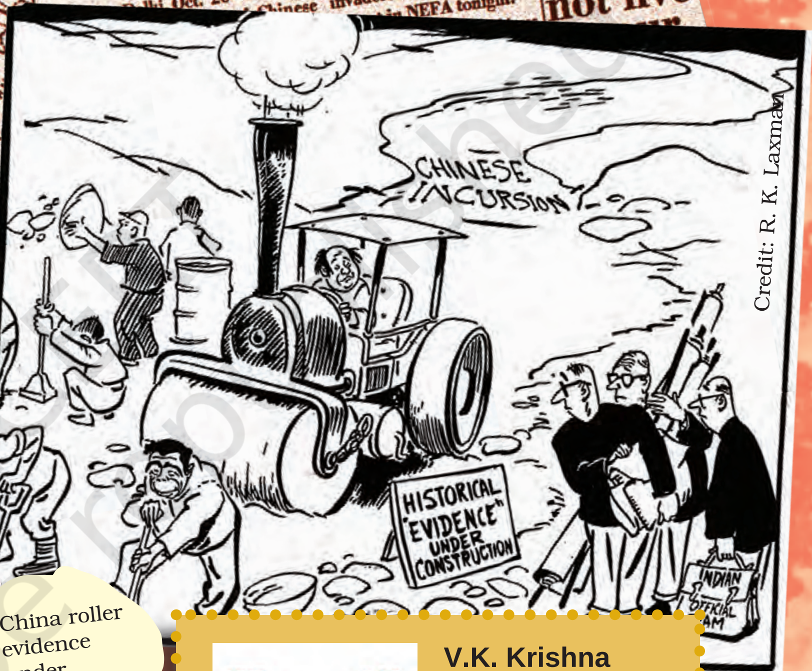
China has numerical and logistic edge

Nehru says C

killed in
akhpur
firing
dents

C H I N A
KASHMIR
Indian territory shown as part of China
Roads built by Chinese in Ladakh
TIBET
McMAHON LINE
PROTECTED BY INDIA
LHASA
NEPAL
BHUTAN
DELHI
ASSAM
E PAK
Miles 250

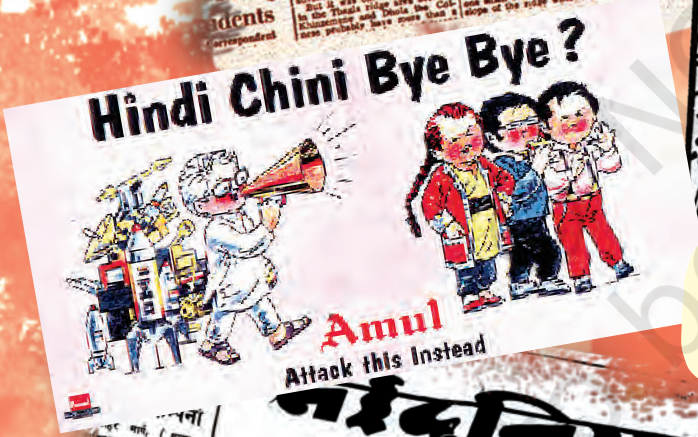
1962



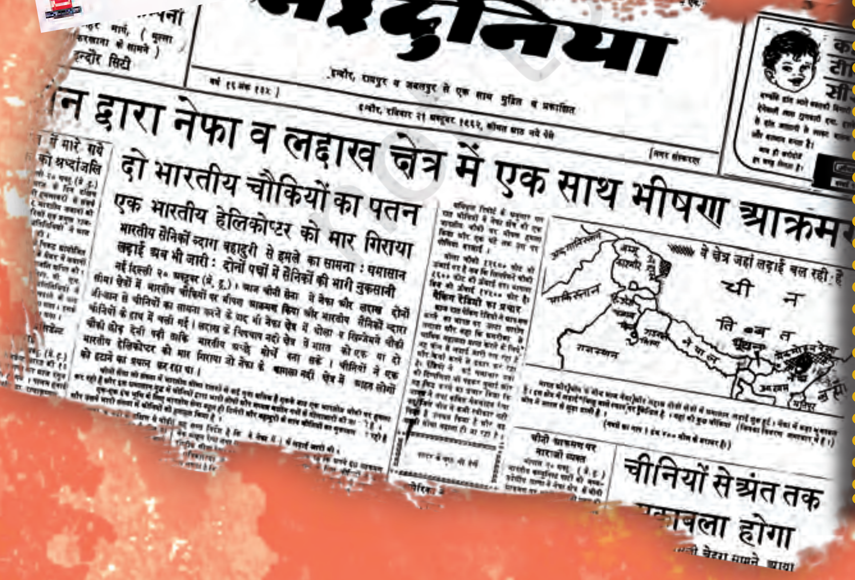
CHINESE INCURSION
HISTORICAL "EVIDENCE" UNDER CONSTRUCTION
INDIAN OFFICIAL TEAM

Credit: R. K. Laxman

China roller evidence under construction.



Hindi Chini Bye Bye ?
Amul
Attack this Instead



नईदुनिया

इन्दौर, रायपुर व जबलपुर से एक साथ मुद्रित व प्रकाशित

इन्दौर, रविवार २१ अक्तूबर १९६२

न द्वारा नेफा व लद्दाख क्षेत्र में एक साथ भीषण आक्रमण

दो भारतीय चौकियों का पतन

एक भारतीय हेलिकोप्टर को मार गिराया

भारतीय सैनिकों द्वारा बहादुरी से हमले का सामना : घमासान लड़ाई अब भी जारी : दोनों पक्षों में सैनिकों की भारी नुकसानी

चीनियों से अंत तक मुकाबला होगा

ये क्षेत्र जहां लड़ाई चल रही है
ची न
तिब्बत

भारत INDIA
2.00
वी. के. कृष्णमेनन
V. K. KRISHNA MENON
1997

V.K. Krishna Menon (1897-1974): Diplomat and minister; active in the Labour Party in UK between 1934-1947; Indian High Commissioner in UK and later head of India's delegation to UN; Rajya Sabha MP and later Lok Sabha MP; member of the Union Cabinet from 1956; Defence Minsiter since 1957; considered very close to Nehru; resigned after the India-China war in 1962.

The Chinese invasion, 1962

Two developments strained this relationship. China annexed Tibet in 1950 and thus removed a historical buffer between the two countries. Initially, the government of India did not oppose this openly. But as more information came in about the suppression of Tibetan culture, the Indian government grew uneasy. The Tibetan spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama, sought and obtained political asylum in India in 1959. China alleged that the government of India was allowing anti-China activities to take place from within India.

> *Frankly ...my impression (of Zhou Enlai) was very favourable. ....the Chinese premier is, I believe a good type of man and trustworthy.*
>
> **C. Rajagopalachari**
> In a letter, December 1956

A little earlier, a boundary dispute had surfaced between India and China. India claimed that the boundary was a matter settled in colonial time, but China said that any colonial decision did not apply. The main dispute was about the western and the eastern end of the long border. China claimed two areas within the Indian territory: Aksai-chin area in the Ladakh region of Jammu and Kashmir and much of the state of Arunachal Pradesh in what was then called NEFA (North Eastern Frontier Agency). Between 1957 and 1959, the Chinese occupied the Aksai-chin area and built a strategic road there. Despite a very long correspondence and discussion among top leaders, these differences could not be resolved. Several small border skirmishes between the armies of the two countries took place.

Around this time, while the entire world's attention was on the Cuban Missile crisis involving the two superpowers, China launched a swift and massive invasion in October 1962 on both the disputed regions. The first attack lasted one week and Chinese forces captured some key areas in Arunachal Pradesh. The second wave of attack came next month. While the Indian forces could block the Chinese advances on the western front in Ladakh, in the east the Chinese managed to advance nearly to the entry point of Assam plains. Finally, China declared a unilateral ceasefire and its troops withdrew to where they were before the invasion began.

I heard it from my grandfather. Nehru Ji cried in public when Lata Mangeshkar sang "Ai mere watan ke logo..." after the 1962 war.

The China war dented India's image at home and abroad. India had to approach the Americans and the British for military assistance to tide over the crisis. The Soviet Union remained neutral during the conflict. It induced a sense of national humiliation and at the same time strengthened a spirit of nationalism. Some of the top army commanders either resigned or were retired. Nehru's close associate and the then Defence Minister, V. Krishna Menon, had to leave the cabinet. Nehru's own stature suffered as he was severely criticised for his naïve assessment of the Chinese intentions and the lack of military preparedness. For the first time, a no-confidence motion against his government was moved and debated in the Lok Sabha. Soon thereafter, the Congress lost some key by-elections to Lok Sabha. The political mood of the country had begun to change.

Fast Forward

Sino-Indian relations since 1962

It took more than a decade for India and China to resume normal relations. It was in 1976 that full diplomatic relations were restored between the two countries. Atal Behari Vajpayee was the first top level leader (he was then External Affairs Minister) to visit China in 1979. Later, Rajiv Gandhi became the first Prime Minister after Nehru to visit China. Since then, the emphasis is more on trade relations between the two countries. In the book, *Contemporary World Politics*, you have already read about these developments.

The Sino-Indian conflict affected the opposition as well. This and the growing rift between China and the Soviet Union created irreconcilable differences within the Communist Party of India (CPI). The pro-USSR faction remained within the CPI and moved towards closer ties with the Congress. The other faction was for sometime closer to China and was against any ties with the Congress. The party split in 1964 and the leaders of the latter faction formed the Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI-M). In the wake of the China war, many leaders of what became CPI (M) were arrested for being pro-China.

The war with China alerted the Indian leadership to the volatile situation in the Northeast region. Apart from being isolated and extremely underdeveloped, this region also presented India with the challenge of national integration and political unity. The process of its reorganisation began soon after the China war. Nagaland was granted statehood; Manipur and Tripura, though Union Territories, were given the right to elect their own legislative assemblies.

Let's watch a Film

HAQEEQAT

A small platoon of Indian army is rescued by the gypsies in Ladakh region. The enemy has surrounded their post. Capt. Bahadur Singh and his gypsy girlfriend Kammo help the *jawans* vacate their posts. Both Bahadur Singh and Kammo die while resisting the Chinese but the *jawans* too, are overpowered by the enemy and lay down their lives for the country.

Set in the backdrop of the China war of 1962, this film portrays the soldier and his travails as its central theme. It pays tribute to the soldiers while depicting their plight, and the political frustration over the betrayal by the Chinese. The film uses documentary footage of war scenes and is considered as one of the early war films made in Hindi.

Year: 1964
Director: Chetan Anand
Actors: Dharmendra, Priya Rajvansh, Balraj Sahni, Jayant, Sudhir, Sanjay Khan, Vijay Anand

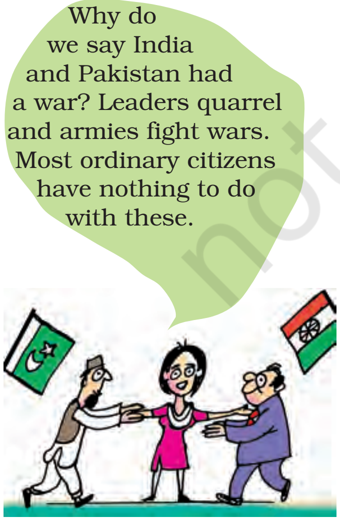
Wars and Peace with Pakistan

In the case of Pakistan, the conflict started just after Partition over the dispute on Jammu and Kashmir. You will read more about the dispute in Chapter 7. A proxy war broke out between the Indian and Pakistani armies in Jammu and Kashmir during 1947 itself. But this did not turn into a full war. The issue was then referred to the UN. Pakistan soon emerged as a critical factor in India's relations with the US and subsequently with China.

The Kashmir conflict did not prevent cooperation between the governments of India and Pakistan. Both the governments worked together to restore the women abducted during Partition to their original families. A long-term dispute about the sharing of river waters was resolved through mediation by the World Bank. The India-Pakistan Indus Waters Treaty was signed by Nehru and General Ayub Khan in 1960. Despite all ups and downs in the Indo-Pak relations, this treaty has worked well.

A more serious armed conflict between the two countries began in 1965. As you would read in the next chapter, by then Lal Bahadur Shastri had taken over as the Prime Minister. In April 1965 Pakistan launched armed attacks in the Rann of Kutch area of Gujarat. This was followed by a bigger offensive in Jammu and Kashmir in August-September. Pakistani rulers were hoping to get support from the local population there, but it did not happen. In order to ease the pressure on the Kashmir front, Shastri ordered Indian troops to launch a counter-offensive on the Punjab border. In a fierce battle, the Indian army reached close to Lahore.

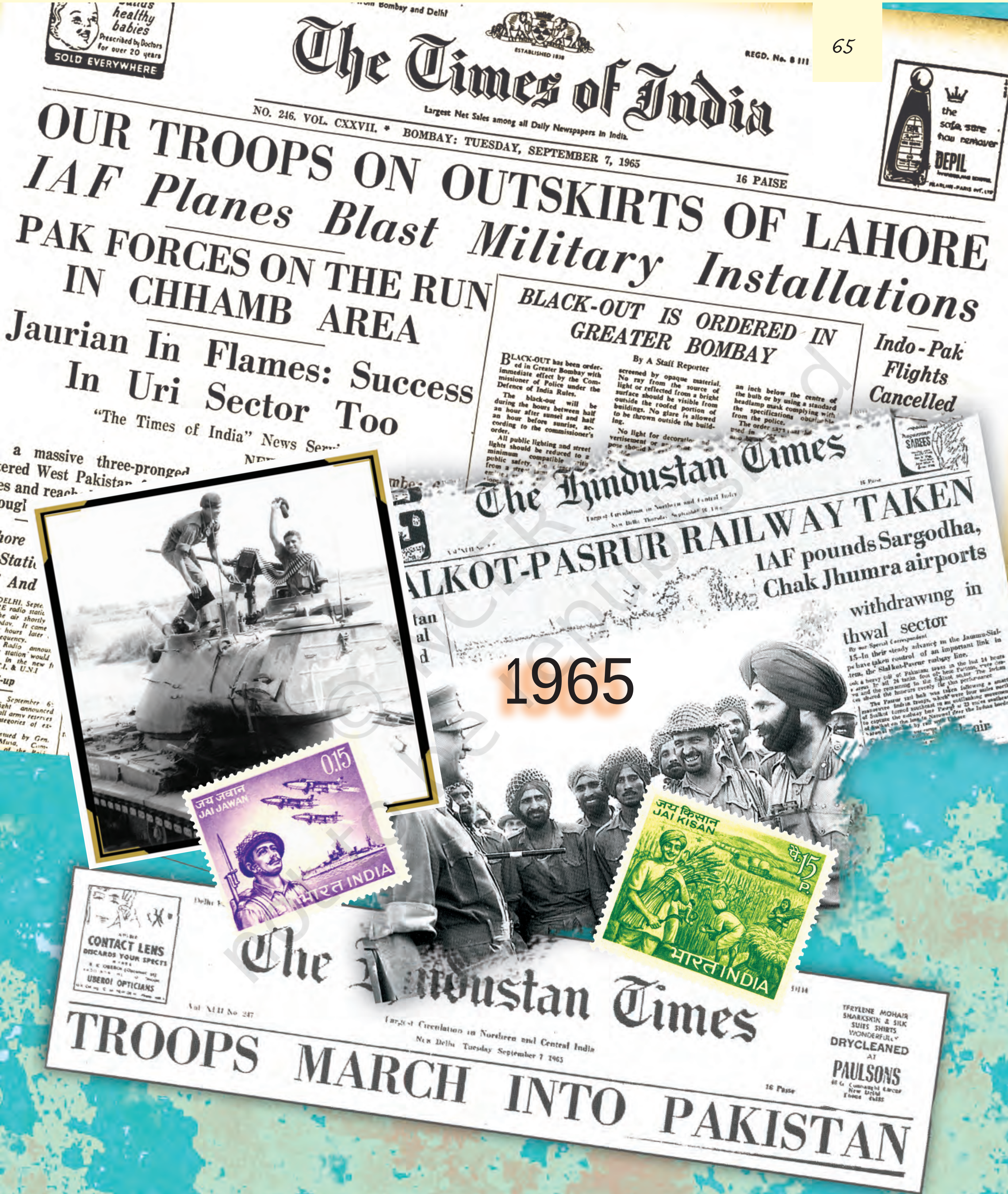
The hostilities came to an end with the UN intervention. Later, Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Pakistan's General Ayub Khan signed the Tashkent Agreement, brokered by the Soviet Union, in January 1966. Though India could inflict considerable military loss on Pakistan, the 1965 war added to India's already difficult economic situation.


Why do we say India and Pakistan had a war? Leaders quarrel and armies fight wars. Most ordinary citizens have nothing to do with these.

Bangladesh war, 1971

Beginning in 1970, Pakistan faced its biggest internal crisis. The country's first general election produced a split verdict – Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's party emerged a winner in West Pakistan, while the Awami League led by Sheikh Mujib-ur Rahman swept through East Pakistan. The Bengali population of East Pakistan had voted to protest against years of being treated as second class citizens by the rulers based in West Pakistan. The Pakistani rulers were not willing to accept the democratic verdict. Nor were they ready to accept the Awami League's demand for a federation.

Instead, in early 1971, the Pakistani army arrested Sheikh Mujib and unleashed a reign of terror on the people of East Pakistan. In



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NO. 246. VOL. CXXVII. * BOMBAY: TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1965

16 PAISE

the sofe, sure hair remover
DEPIL

OUR TROOPS ON OUTSKIRTS OF LAHORE

IAF Planes Blast Military Installations

PAK FORCES ON THE RUN IN CHHAMB AREA

Jaurian In Flames: Success In Uri Sector Too

"The Times of India" News Serv

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September 6
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Musa, Com-

BLACK-OUT IS ORDERED IN GREATER BOMBAY

By A Staff Reporter

BLACK-OUT has been ordered in Greater Bombay with immediate effect by the Commissioner of Police under the Defence of India Rules.

The black-out will be during the hours between half an hour after sunset and half an hour before sunrise, according to the commissioner's order.

All public lighting and street lights should be reduced to a minimum compatible with public safety. No

screened by opaque material. No ray from the source of light or reflected from a bright surface should be visible from outside the roofed portion of buildings. No glare is allowed to be thrown outside the building.

No light for decoration and vertisement or

an inch below the centre of the bulb or by using a standard headlamp mask complying with the specifications obtainable from the police.

The order says

Indo-Pak Flights Cancelled

The Hindustan Times

Largest Circulation in Northern and Central India

16 Paise

ALKOT-PASRUR RAILWAY TAKEN

IAF pounds Sargodha, Chak Jhumra airports

withdrawing in
thwal sector

By our Special Correspondent

15–In their steady advance in the Jammu-Sial-
ps have taken control of an important link in
the Sialkot-Pasrur railway line.

1965

CONTACT LENS
DISCARDS YOUR SPECTS
UBEROI OPTICIANS

The Hindustan Times

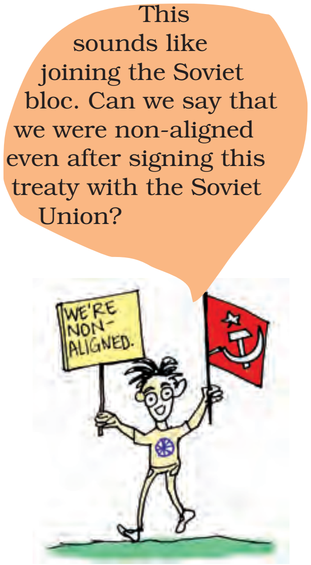
Largest Circulation in Northern and Central India

New Delhi Tuesday September 7 1965

16 Paise

TROOPS MARCH INTO PAKISTAN

TERYLENE MOHAIR SHARKSKIN & SILK SUITS SHIRTS WONDERFULLY DRYCLEANED AT PAULSONS


This sounds like joining the Soviet bloc. Can we say that we were non-aligned even after signing this treaty with the Soviet Union?
WE'RE NON-ALIGNED.

Refugee influx threatens peace, India warns Pak

PRESIDENT DECLARES EMERGENCY

Pakistanis bomb border airfields in sneak raids

Several western outposts also heavily shelled

It's war,

response to this, the people started a struggle to liberate 'Bangladesh' from Pakistan. Throughout 1971, India had to bear the burden of about 80 lakh refugees who fled East Pakistan and took shelter in the neighbouring areas in India. India extended moral and material support to the freedom struggle in Bangladesh. Pakistan accused India of a conspiracy to break it up.

Support for Pakistan came from the US and China. The US-China rapprochement that began in the late 1960s resulted in a realignment of forces in Asia. Henry Kissinger, the adviser to the US President Richard Nixon, made a secret visit to China via Pakistan in July 1971. In order to counter the US-Pakistan-China axis, India signed a 20-year Treaty of Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union in August 1971. This treaty assured India of Soviet support if the country faced any attack.

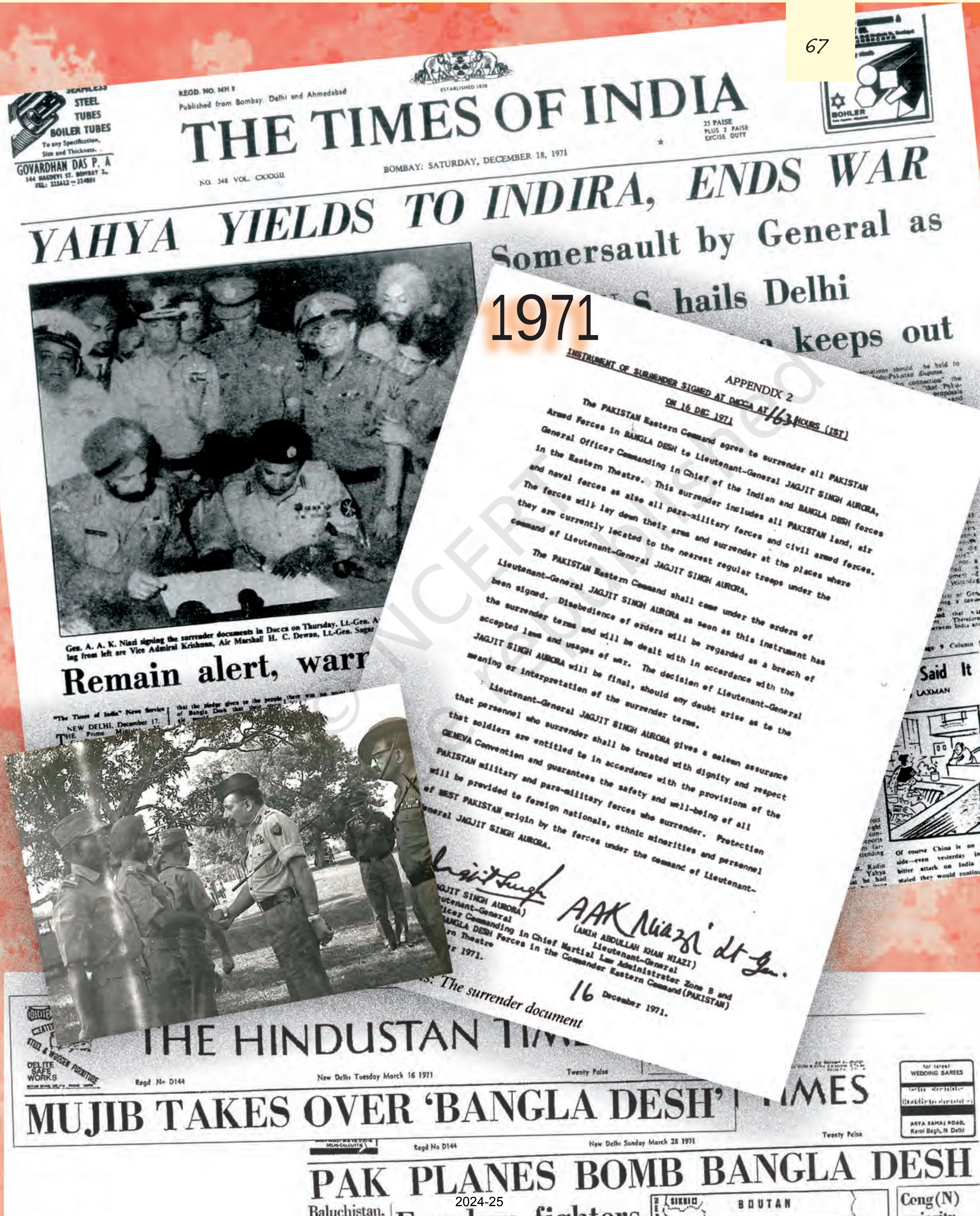
After months of diplomatic tension and military build-up, a full-scale war between India and Pakistan broke out in December 1971. Pakistani aircrafts attacked Punjab and Rajasthan, while the army moved on the Jammu and Kashmir front. India retaliated with an attack involving the air force, navy and the army on both the Western and the Eastern front. Welcomed and supported by the local population, the Indian army made rapid progress in East Pakistan. Within ten days the Indian army had surrounded Dhaka from three sides and the Pakistani army of about 90,000 had to surrender. With Bangladesh as a free country, India declared a unilateral ceasefire. Later, the signing of the Shimla Agreement between Indira Gandhi and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on 3 July 1972 formalised the return of peace.

A decisive victory in the war led to national jubiliation. Most people in India saw this as a moment of glory and a clear sign of India's growing military prowess. As you would read in the next chapter, Indira Gandhi was the Prime Minister at this time. She had already won the Lok Sahba elections in 1971. Her personal popularity soared

Fast Forward Kargil Confrontation

In the early part of 1999 several points on the Indian side of the LoC in the Mashkoh, Dras, Kaksar and Batalik areas were occupied by forces claiming to be Mujahideens. Suspecting involvement of the Pakistan Army, Indian forces started reacting to this occupation. This led to a confrontation between the two countries. This is known as the Kargil conflict. This conflict went on during May and June 1999. By 26 July 1999, India had recovered control of many of the lost points. The Kargil conflict drew attention worldwide for the reason that only one year prior to that, both India and Pakistan had attained nuclear capability. However, this conflict remained confined only to the Kargil region. In Pakistan, this conflict has been the source of a major controversy as it was alleged later that the Prime Minister of Pakistan was kept in the dark by the Army Chief. Soon after the conflict, the government of Pakistan was taken over by the Pakistan Army led by the Army Chief, General Parvez Musharraf.

1971



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THE TIMES OF INDIA

25 PAISE
PLUS 2 PAISE
EXCISE DUTY

NO. 348 VOL. CXXXIII

BOMBAY: SATURDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1971

YAHYA YIELDS TO INDIRA, ENDS WAR

Somersault by General as

S. hails Delhi

keeps out

Gen. A. A. K. Niazi signing the surrender documents in Dacca on Thursday. Lt.-Gen. A
ing from left are Vice Admiral Krishnan, Air Marshall H. C. Dewan, Lt.-Gen. Sagar

Remain alert, warr

"The Times of India" News Service

NEW DELHI, December 17.

THE Prime Minister

that the pledge given to the people there was no point
of Bangla Desh that their

APPENDIX 2

INSTRUMENT OF SURRENDER SIGNED AT DACCA AT 1631 HOURS (IST)
ON 16 DEC 1971

The PAKISTAN Eastern Command agree to surrender all PAKISTAN Armed Forces in BANGLA DESH to Lieutenant-General JAGJIT SINGH AURORA, General Officer Commanding in Chief of the Indian and BANGLA DESH forces in the Eastern Theatre. This surrender includes all PAKISTAN land, air and naval forces as also all para-military forces and civil armed forces. The forces will lay down their arms and surrender at the places where they are currently located to the nearest regular troops under the command of Lieutenant-General JAGJIT SINGH AURORA.

The PAKISTAN Eastern Command shall come under the orders of Lieutenant-General JAGJIT SINGH AURORA as soon as this instrument has been signed. Disobedience of orders will be regarded as a breach of the surrender terms and will be dealt with in accordance with the accepted laws and usages of war. The decision of Lieutenant-General JAGJIT SINGH AURORA will be final, should any doubt arise as to the meaning or interpretation of the surrender terms.

Lieutenant-General JAGJIT SINGH AURORA gives a solemn assurance that personnel who surrender shall be treated with dignity and respect that soldiers are entitled to in accordance with the provisions of the GENEVA Convention and guarantees the safety and well-being of all PAKISTAN military and para-military forces who surrender. Protection will be provided to foreign nationals, ethnic minorities and personnel of WEST PAKISTAN origin by the forces under the command of Lieutenant-General JAGJIT SINGH AURORA.

Jagjit Singh
GJIT SINGH AURORA)
utenant-General
icer Commanding in Chief
ANGLA DESH Forces in the
rn Theatre
r 1971.

AAK Niazi Lt Gen.
(AMIR ABDULLAH KHAN NIAZI)
Lieutenant-General
Martial Law Administrator Zone B and
Commander Eastern Command (PAKISTAN)
16 December 1971.

s: The surrender document

THE HINDUSTAN TIM

Regd No D144

New Delhi Tuesday March 16 1971

Twenty Paise

MUJIB TAKES OVER 'BANGLA DESH'

MES

Twenty Paise

Regd No D144

New Delhi Sunday March 28 1971

PAK PLANES BOMB BANGLA DESH

Baluchistan,

Cong (N)

further after the 1971 war. After the war, assembly elections in most States took place, bringing large majorities for the Congress party in many states.

India, with its limited resources, had initiated development planning. However, conflicts with neighbours derailed the five-year plans. The scarce resources were diverted to the defence sector especially after 1962, as India had to embark on a military modernisation drive. The Department of Defence Production was established in November 1962 and the Department of Defence Supplies in November 1965. The Third Plan (1961-66) was affected and it was followed by three Annual Plans and the Fourth Plan could be initiated only in 1969. India's defence expenditure increased enormously after the wars.

India's nuclear policy

Another crucial development of this period was the first nuclear explosion undertaken by India in May 1974. Nehru had always put his faith in science and technology for rapidly building a modern India. A significant component of his industrialisation plans was the nuclear programme initiated in the late 1940s under the guidance of Homi J. Bhabha. India wanted to generate atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Nehru was against nuclear weapons. So he pleaded with the superpowers for comprehensive nuclear disarmament. However, the nuclear arsenal kept rising. When Communist China conducted nuclear tests in October 1964, the five nuclear weapon powers, the US, USSR, UK, France, and China (Taiwan then represented China) – also the five Permanent Members of the UN Security Council – tried to impose the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) of 1968 on the rest of the world. India always considered the NPT as discriminatory and had refused to sign it. When India conducted its first nuclear test, it was termed as peaceful explosion. India argued that it was committed to the policy of using nuclear power only for peaceful purposes.

I am confused! Isn't it all about atom bombs? Why don't we say so?

The period when the nuclear test was conducted was a difficult period in domestic politics. Following the Arab-Israel War of 1973, the entire world was affected by the Oil Shock due to the massive hike in the oil prices by the Arab nations. It led to economic turmoil in India resulting in high inflation. As you will read in Chapter Six, many agitations were going on in the country around this time, including a nationwide railway strike.

Although there are minor differences among political parties about how to conduct external relations, Indian politics is generally marked by a broad agreement among the parties on national integration, protection of international boundaries, and on questions of national interest. Therefore, we find that in the course of the decade of 1962-1971, when India faced three wars, or even later, when different parties came to power from time to time, foreign policy has played only a limited role in party politics.

Fast Forward India's Nuclear Programme

India has opposed the international treaties aimed at non-proliferation since they were selectively applicable to the non-nuclear powers and legitimised the monopoly of the five nuclear weapons powers. Thus, India opposed the indefinite extension of the NPT in 1995 and also refused to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT).

India conducted a series of nuclear tests in May 1998, demonstrating its capacity to use nuclear energy for military purposes. Pakistan soon followed, thereby increasing the vulnerability of the region to a nuclear exchange. The international community was extremely critical of the nuclear tests in the subcontinent and sanctions were imposed on both India and Pakistan, which were subsequently waived. India's nuclear doctrine of credible minimum nuclear deterrence professes "no first use" and reiterates India's commitment to global, verifiable and non-discriminatory nuclear disarmament leading to a nuclear weapons free world.

Shifting alliances in world politics

As you will read in Chapter Six and also in Chapter Eight, many non-Congress governments came to power in the period starting 1977. This was also the time when world politics was changing dramatically. What did it mean for India's external relations?

The Janata Party government that came to power in 1977 announced that it would follow genuine non-alignment. This implied that the pro-Soviet tilt in the foreign policy will be corrected. Since then, all governments (Congress or non-Congress) have taken initiatives for restoring better relations with China and entering into close ties with US. In Indian politics and in popular mind, India's foreign policy is always very closely linked to two questions. One is India's stand vis-à-vis Pakistan and the other is Indo-US relations. In the post-1990 period the ruling parties have often been criticised for their pro-US foreign policy.

Foreign policy is always dictated by ideas of national interest. In the period after 1990, Russia, though it continues to be an important friend of India, has lost its global pre-eminence. Therefore, India's foreign policy has shifted to a more pro-US strategy. Besides, the contemporary international situation is more influenced by economic interests than by military interests. This has also made an impact on India's foreign policy choices. At the same time, Indo-Pakistan relations have witnessed many new developments during this period. While Kashmir continues to be the main issue between the two countries, there have been many efforts to restore normal relations. This means that cultural exchanges, movement of citizens and economic cooperation would be encouraged by both countries. Do you know that a train and a bus service operate between these two countries? This has been a major achievement of the recent times. But that could not avoid the near-war situation from emerging in 1999. Even after this setback to the peace process, efforts at negotiating durable peace have been going on.

EXERCISES

1. Write 'true' or 'false' against each of these statements.
    (a) Non-alignment allowed India to gain assistance both from USA and USSR.
    (b) India's relationship with her neighbours has been strained from the beginning.
    (c) The cold war has affected the relationship between India and Pakistan.
    (d) The treaty of Peace and Friendship in 1971 was the result of India's closeness to USA.

2. Match the following

(a) The goal of India's foreign policy in the period 1950-1964	i. Tibetan spiritual leader who crossed over to India
(b) Panchsheel	ii. Preservation of territorial integrity, sovereignty and economic development
(c) Bandung Conference	iii. Five principles of peaceful coexistence
(d) Dalai Lama	iv. Led to the establishment of NAM

3. Why did Nehru regard conduct of foreign relations as an essential indicator of independence? State any two reasons with examples to support your reading.

4. "The conduct of foreign affairs is an outcome of a two-way interaction between domestic compulsions and prevailing international climate". Take one example from India's external relations in the 1960s to substantiate your answer.

5. Identify any two aspects of India's foreign policy that you would like to retain and two that you would like to change, if you were to become a decision maker. Give reasons to support your position.

6. Write short notes on the following.
    (a) India's Nuclear policy
    (b) Consensus in foreign policy matters

7. India's foreign policy was built around the principles of peace and cooperation. But India fought three wars in a space of ten years between 1962 and 1971. Would you say that this was a failure of the foreign policy? Or would you say that this was a result of international situation? Give reasons to support your answer.

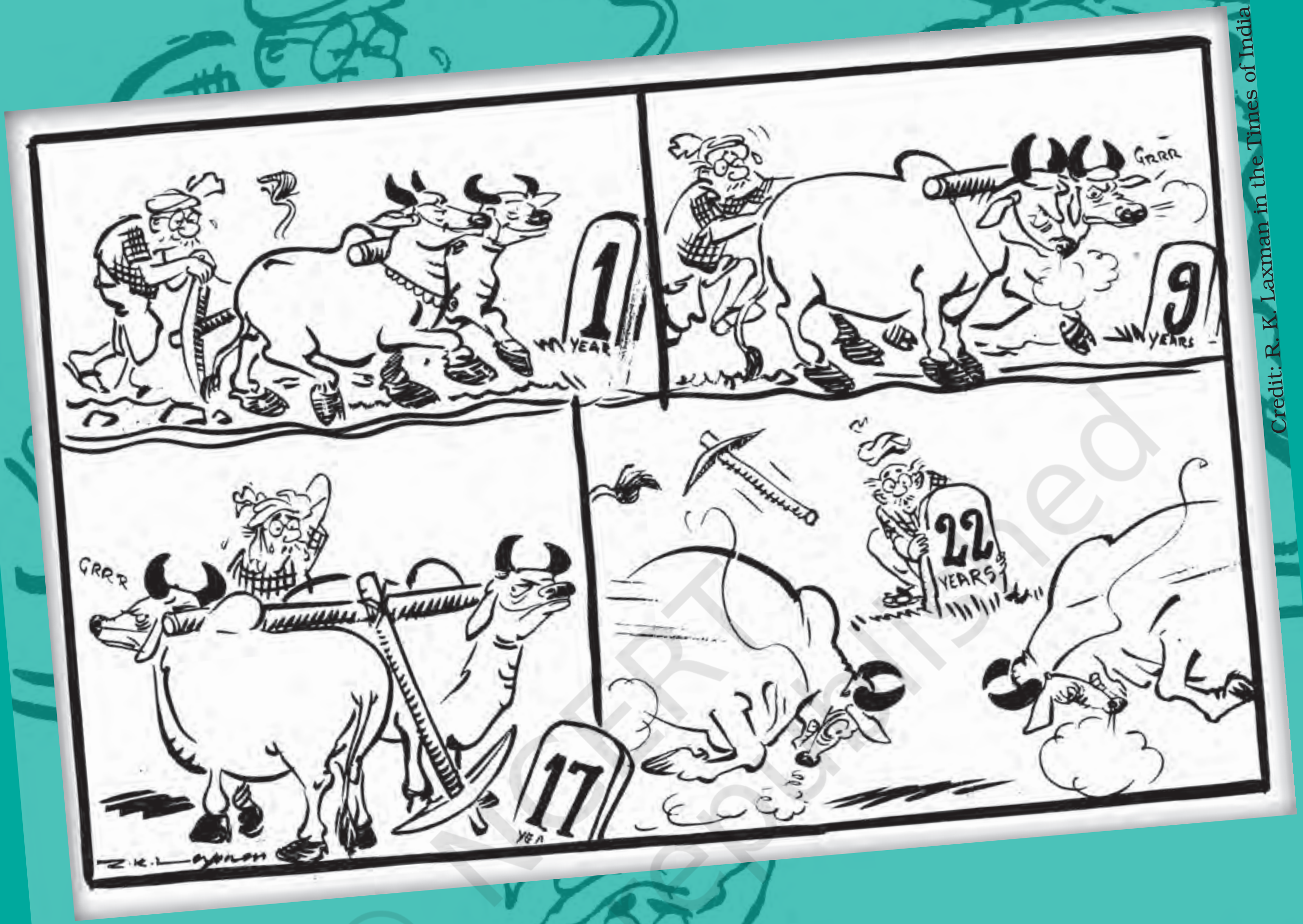
8. Does India's foreign policy reflect her desire to be an important regional power? Argue your case with the Bangladesh war of 1971 as an example.

9. How does political leadership of a nation affect its foreign policy? Explain this with the help of examples from India's foreign policy.

10. Read this passage and answer the questions below:

    "*Broadly, non-alignment means not tying yourself off with military blocs….It means trying to view things, as far as possible, not from the military point of view, though that has to come in sometimes, but independently, and trying to maintain friendly relations with all countries.*" — JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

    (a) Why does Nehru want to keep off military blocs?
    (b) Do you think that the Indo-Soviet friendship treaty violated the principle of non-alignment? Give reasons for your answer.
    (c) If there were no military blocs, do you think non-alignment would have been unnecessary?



Credit: R. K. Laxman in the Times of India

Originally the election symbol of the Congress was a pair of bullocks. This famous cartoon depicts the changes within the Congress leading to a head-on confrontation in the 22nd year after Independence.

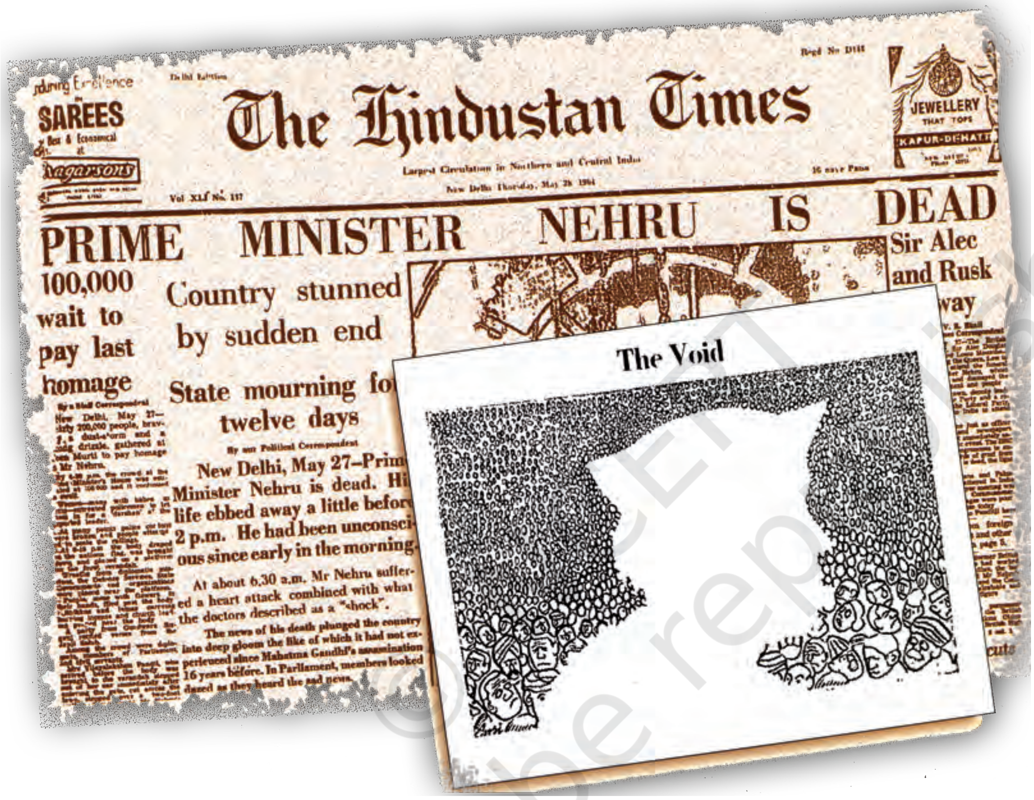
In this chapter...

In Chapter Two we read about the emergence of the Congress system. This system was first challenged during the 1960s. As political competition became more intense, the Congress found it difficult to retain its dominance. It faced challenges from the opposition that was more powerful and less divided than before. The Congress also faced challenges from within, as the party could no longer accommodate all kinds of differences. In this chapter we pick the story from where we left it in Chapter Two, in order to

- understand how the political transition took place after Nehru;
- describe how the opposition unity and the Congress split posed a challenge to Congress dominance;
- explain how a new Congress led by Indira Gandhi overcame these challenges; and
- analyse how new policies and ideologies facilitated the restoration of the Congress system.

CHAPTER 5

CHALLENGES TO AND RESTORATION OF THE CONGRESS SYSTEM



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New Delhi Thursday, May 28 1964

Vol XLI No. 137

16 naye Paise

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU IS DEAD

100,000 wait to pay last homage

Country stunned by sudden end

State mourning fo twelve days

By our Political Correspondent

New Delhi, May 27–Prim Minister Nehru is dead. Hi life ebbed away a little befor 2 p.m. He had been unconsci-ous since early in the morning.

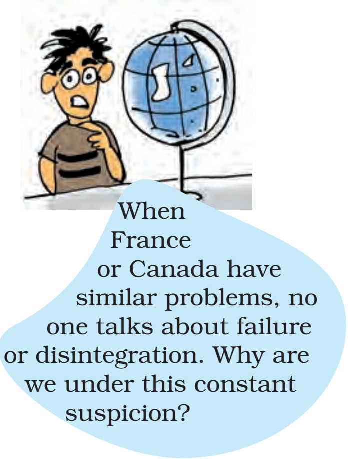
At about 6.30 a.m. Mr Nehru suffer-ed a heart attack combined with what the doctors described as a "shock".

The news of his death plunged the country into deep gloom the like of which it had not ex-perienced since Mahatma Gandhi's assassination 16 years before. In Parliament, members looked dazed as they heard the sad news.

Sir Alec and Rusk way

The Void

Challenge of Political Succession



When France or Canada have similar problems, no one talks about failure or disintegration. Why are we under this constant suspicion?

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru passed away in May 1964. He had been unwell for more than a year. This had generated a lot of speculation about the usual question of succession: after Nehru, who? But in a newly independent country like India, this situation gave rise to a more serious question: after Nehru, what?

The second question arose from the serious doubts that many outsiders had about whether India's democratic experiment will survive after Nehru. It was feared that like so many other newly independent countries, India too would not be able to manage a democratic succession. A failure to do so, it was feared, could lead to a political role for the army. Besides, there were doubts if the new leadership would be able to handle the multiple crises that awaited a solution. The 1960s were labelled as the 'dangerous decade' when unresolved problems like poverty, inequality, communal and regional divisions etc. could lead to a failure of the democratic project or even the disintegration of the country.

From Nehru to Shastri

The ease with which the succession after Nehru took place proved all the critics wrong. When Nehru passed away, K. Kamraj, the president of the Congress party consulted party leaders and Congress members of Parliament and found that there was a consensus in favour of Lal Bahadur Shastri. He was unanimously chosen as the leader of the Congress parliamentary party and thus became the country's next Prime Minister. Shastri was a non-controversial leader from Uttar Pradesh who had been a Minister in Nehru's cabinet for many years. Nehru had come to depend a lot on him in his last year. He was known for his simplicity and his commitment to principles. Earlier he had resigned from the position of Railway Minister accepting moral responsibility for a major railway accident.

Shastri was the country's Prime Minister from 1964 to 1966. During Shastri's brief Prime Ministership, the country faced two major challenges. While India was still recovering from the economic implications of the war with China, failed monsoons, drought and serious food crisis presented a grave challenge. As discussed in the previous chapter, the country also faced a war with Pakistan in 1965. Shastri's famous slogan 'Jai Jawan Jai Kisan', symbolised the country's resolve to face both these challenges.

Shastri's Prime Ministership came to an abrupt end on 10 January 1966, when he suddenly expired in Tashkent, then in USSR and currently the capital of Uzbekistan. He was there to discuss and sign an agreement with Muhammad Ayub Khan, the then President of Pakistan, to end the war.

From Shastri to Indira Gandhi

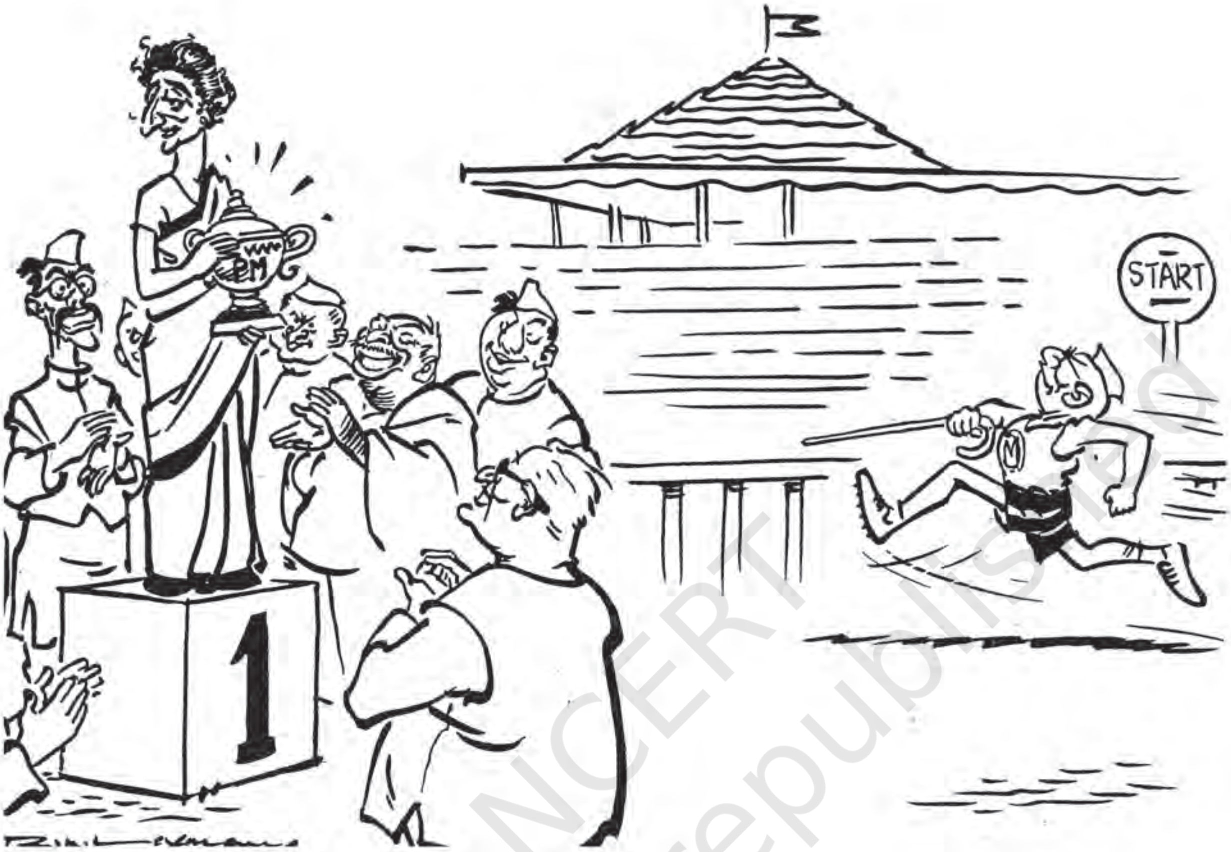
Thus the Congress faced the challenge of political succession for the second time in two years. This time there was an intense competition between Morarji Desai and Indira Gandhi. Morarji Desai had earlier served as Chief Minister of Bombay state (today's Maharashtra and Gujarat) and also as a Minister at the centre. Indira Gandhi, the daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru, had been Congress President in the past and had also been Union Minister for Information in the Shastri cabinet. This time the senior leaders in the party decided to back Indira Gandhi, but the decision was not unanimous. The contest was resolved through a secret ballot among Congress MPs. Indira Gandhi defeated Morarji Desai by securing the support of more than two-thirds of the party's MPs. A peaceful transition of power, despite intense competition for leadership, was seen as a sign of maturity of India's democracy.

LALBAHADUR SHASTRI
1904-1966
0.15
लालबहादुर शास्त्री
भारत INDIA

Lal Bahadur Shastri (1904-1966): Prime Minister of India; participated in the freedom movement since 1930; minister in UP cabinet; General Secretary of Congress; Minister in Union Cabinet from 1951 to 1956 when he resigned taking responsibility for the railway accident and later from 1957 to 1964; coined the famous slogan 'Jai Jawan-Jai Kisan'.

> *...new Prime Minister of India, in spite of all forebodings, had been named with more dispatch, and much more dignity, than was the new Prime Minister of Britain.*

Editorial in The Guardian, London, 3 June 1964, comparing the political succession after Nehru with the succession drama after Harold Macmillan in Britain.



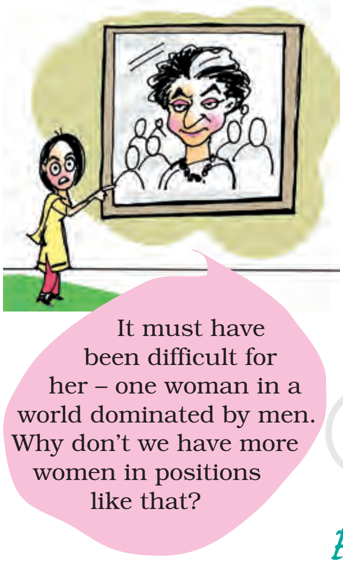
Credit: R. K. Laxman in The Times of India, 18 January 1966

It took some time before the new Prime Minister could settle down. While Indira Gandhi had been politically active for very long, she had served as a minister under Lal Bahadur Shastri only for a short period. The senior Congress leaders may have supported Indira Gandhi in the belief that her administrative and political inexperience would compel her to be dependent on them for support and guidance. Within a year of becoming Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi had to lead the party in a Lok Sabha election. Around this time, the economic situation in the country had further deteriorated, adding to her problems. Faced with these difficulties, she set out to gain control over the party and to demonstrate her leadership skills.

Indira Gandhi (1917-1984): Prime Minister of India from 1966 to 1977 and 1980 to 1984; daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru; participated in the freedom struggle as a young Congress worker; Congress President in 1958; minister in Shastri's cabinet from 1964-66; led the Congress party to victory in 1967, 1971 and 1980 general elections; credited with the slogan 'garibi hatao', victory in 1971 war and for policy initiatives like abolition of Privy Purse, nationalisation of banks, nuclear test and environmental protection; assassinated on 31 October 1984.

50
भारत INDIA
1917-1984
इन्दिरा गांधी INDIRA GANDHI

Credit: Raghu Rai


It must have been difficult for her – one woman in a world dominated by men. Why don't we have more women in positions like that?

Fourth General Elections, 1967

The year 1967 is considered a landmark year in India's political and electoral history. In Chapter Two you read about how the Congress party was the dominant political force throughout the country from 1952 onwards. This trend was to undergo significant changes with the 1967 elections.

Context of the elections

In the years leading up to the fourth general elections, the country witnessed major changes. Two Prime Ministers had died in quick succession, and the new Prime Minister, who was being seen as a political novice, had been in office for less than a year. You will recall from the discussion in Chapter Three and in the previous section of this chapter that the period was fraught with grave economic crisis resulting from successive failure of monsoons, widespread drought, decline in agricultural production, serious food shortage, depletion of foreign exchange reserves, drop in industrial production and exports, combined with a sharp rise in military expenditure and diversion of resources from planning and economic development. One of the first decisions of the Indira Gandhi government was to devaluate the Indian rupee, under what was seen to be pressure from the US. Earlier one US dollar could be purchased for less than Rs. 5; after devaluation it cost more than Rs. 7.

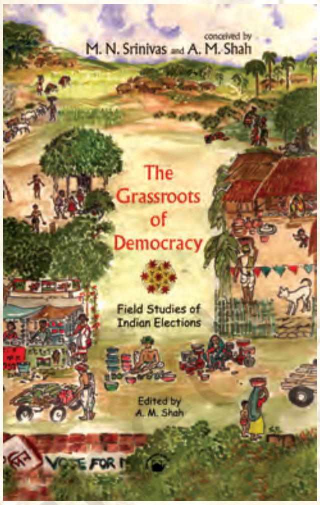
The economic situation triggered off price rise. People started protesting against the increase in prices of essential commodities, food scarcity, growing unemployment and the overall economic condition in the country. Bandhs and hartals were called frequently across the country. The government saw the protests as a law and order problem and not as expressions of people's problems. This further increased public bitterness and reinforced popular unrest.

The communist and socialist parties launched struggles for greater equality. You will read in the next chapter about how a group of communists who separated from the Communist Party of India (Marxist) to form the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) led armed agrarian struggles and organised peasant agitations. This period also witnessed some of the worst Hindu-Muslim riots since Independence.

Non-Congressism

This situation could not have remained isolated from party politics in the country. Opposition parties were in the forefront of organising public protests and pressurising the

Election in a Rajasthan Village


conceived by
M. N. Srinivas and A. M. Shah
The Grassroots of Democracy
Field Studies of Indian Elections
Edited by A. M. Shah
VOTE FOR

This is a story about 1967 assembly elections. In the Chomu constituency, the main parties in the fray were Congress and the Swatantra party. But village Devisar had its own local political dynamics and it got mixed up with the competition between the two parties. Sher Singh, traditionally dominated village politics, but gradually his nephew, Bhim Singh was emerging as the more popular leader and rival. Though both were Rajputs, Bhim Singh cultivated the support of many non-Rajputs in the village by attending to their requirements after becoming the panchayat Pradhan. So, he struck a new equation—the alliance of Rajputs and non-Rajputs.

He proved to be more adept in building alliances across the village by supporting candidates in other villages for the posts of village Pradhan. In fact, he took an initiative and took a delegation to the State Chief Minister and Congress leader Mohan Lal Sukhadia for pressing the name of one of his friends from a nearby village as Congress candidate in the Assembly election. When Sukhadia convinced him of some other name, Bhim Singh, in turn, convinced many others that they should work for the party candidate. Bhim Singh knew that if the party candidate won from this constituency, that candidate would become a minister and thus, he would have direct contacts with a minister for the first time!

Sher Singh had no option but to work for the Swatantra candidate, who was a jagirdar. He kept telling people that the jagirdar would help build the village school and use his resources for the development of the locality. At least in Devisar village, the Assembly election had turned into a factional fight between uncle and nephew.

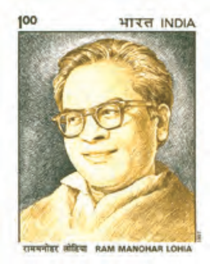
Based on Anand Chakravarti, 'A Village in Chomu Assembly Constituency in Rajasthan.'

> *...in India, as present trends continue... maintenance of an ordered structure of society is going to slip out of reach of an ordered structure of civil government and the army will be only alternative source of authority and order. ...the great experiment of developing India within a democratic framework has failed.*
>
> ***Neville Maxwell***
> 'India's Disintegrating Democracy' an article published in the London Times, 1967.

government. Parties opposed to the Congress realised that the division of their votes kept the Congress in power. Thus parties that were entirely different and disparate in their programmes and ideology got together to form anti-Congress fronts in some states and entered into electoral adjustments of sharing seats in others. They felt that the inexperience of Indira Gandhi and the internal factionalism within the Congress provided them an opportunity to topple the Congress. The socialist leader Ram Manohar Lohia gave this strategy the name of 'non-Congressism'. He also produced a theoretical argument in its defence: Congress rule was undemocratic and opposed to the interests of ordinary poor people; therefore, the coming together of the non-Congress parties was necessary for reclaiming democracy for the people.

भारत
पै.P
20
C.N.ANNADURAI
1909-1969
INDIA

C. Natarajan Annadurai (1909-1969): Chief Minister of Madras (Tamil Nadu) from 1967; a journalist, popular writer and orator; initially associated with the Justice Party in Madras province; later joined Dravid Kazagham (1934); formed DMK as a political party in 1949; a proponent of Dravid culture, he was opposed to imposition of Hindi and led the anti-Hindi agitations; supporter of greater autonomy to States.

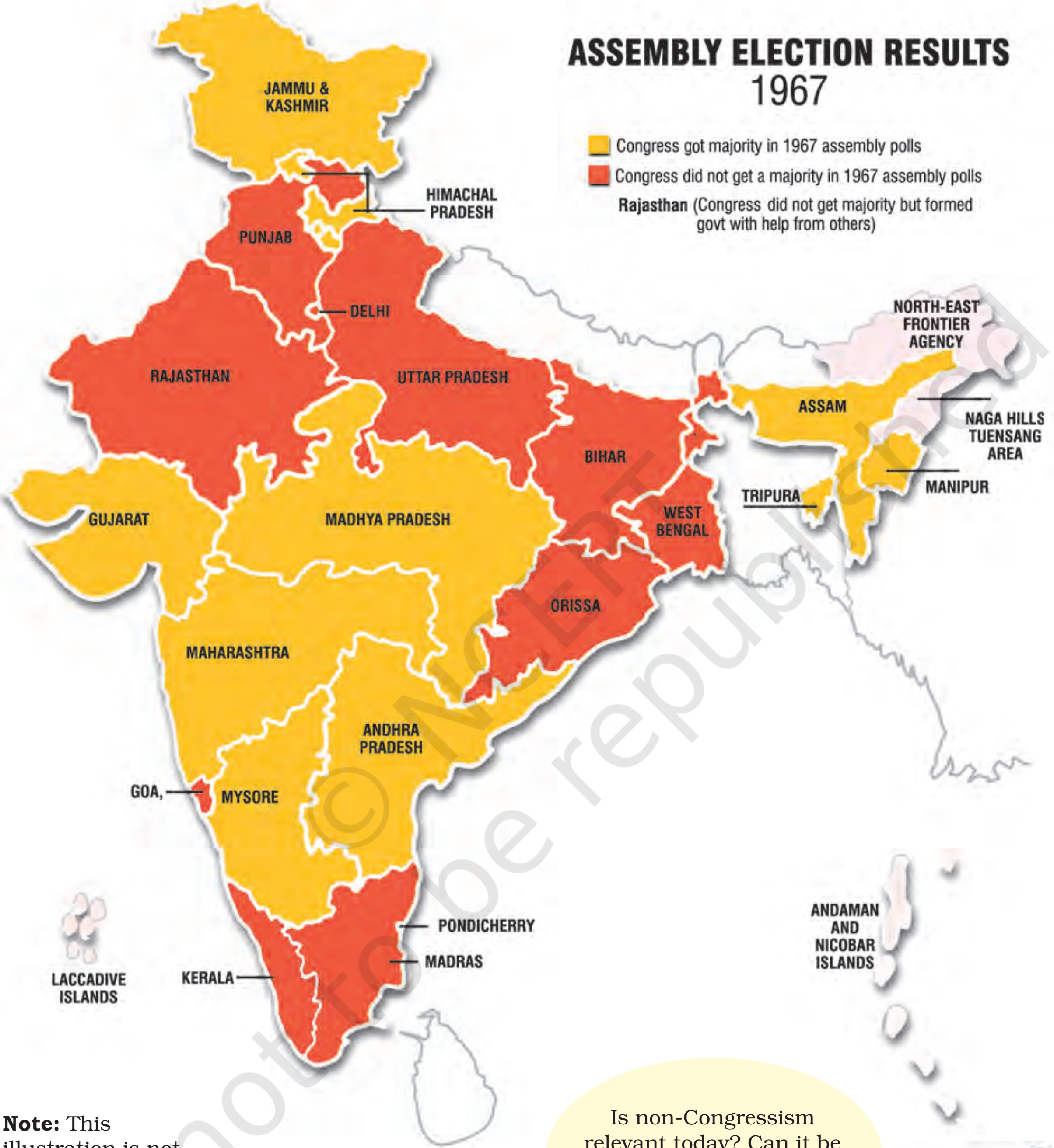

100
भारत INDIA
राममनोहर लोहिया RAM MANOHAR LOHIA

Ram Manohar Lohia (1910-1967): Socialist leader and thinker; freedom fighter and among the founders of the Congress Socialist Party; after the split in the parent party, the leader of the Socialist Party and later the Samyukta Socialist Party; Member, Lok Sabha, 1963-67; founder editor of Mankind and Jan, known for original contribution to a non-European socialist theory; as political leader, best known for sharp attacks on Nehru, strategy of non-Congressism, advocacy of reservation for backward castes and opposition to English.

Electoral verdict

It was in this context of heightened popular discontent and the polarisation of political forces that the fourth general elections to the Lok Sabha and State Assemblies were held in February 1967. The Congress was facing the electorate for the first time without Nehru.

The results jolted the Congress at both the national and state levels. Many contemporary political observers described the election results as a 'political earthquake'.The Congress did manage to get a majority in the Lok Sabha, but with its lowest tally of seats and share of votes since 1952. Half the ministers in Indira Gandhi's cabinet were defeated. The political stalwarts who lost in their constituencies included Kamaraj in Tamil Nadu, S.K. Patil in Maharashtra, Atulya Ghosh in West Bengal and K. B. Sahay in Bihar.


ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS
1967
🟨 Congress got majority in 1967 assembly polls
🟥 Congress did not get a majority in 1967 assembly polls
Rajasthan (Congress did not get majority but formed govt with help from others)
JAMMU & KASHMIR
HIMACHAL PRADESH
PUNJAB
DELHI
RAJASTHAN
UTTAR PRADESH
NORTH-EAST FRONTIER AGENCY
ASSAM
NAGA HILLS TUENSANG AREA
BIHAR
MANIPUR
TRIPURA
WEST BENGAL
GUJARAT
MADHYA PRADESH
ORISSA
MAHARASHTRA
ANDHRA PRADESH
GOA,
MYSORE
PONDICHERRY
MADRAS
KERALA
LACCADIVE ISLANDS
ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS

Note: This illustration is not a map drawn to scale and should not be taken to be an authentic depiction of India's external boundaries.

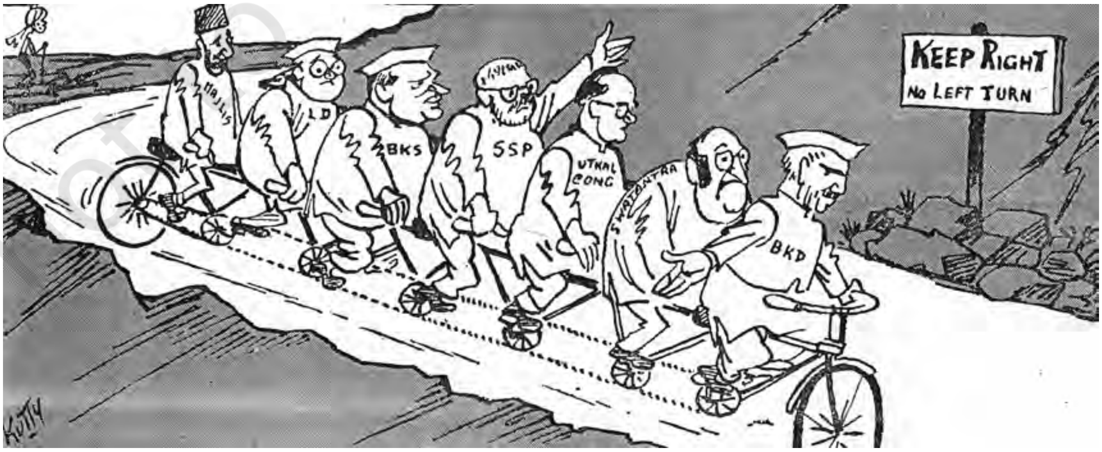
Is non-Congressism relevant today? Can it be applied against Left Front in today's West Bengal?

The dramatic nature of the political change would be more apparent to you at the State level. The Congress lost majority in as many as seven States. In two other States defections prevented it from forming a government. These nine States where the Congress lost power were spread across the country – Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Madras and Kerala. In Madras State (now called Tamil Nadu), a regional party — the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) – came to power by securing a clear majority. The DMK won power after having led a massive anti-Hindi agitation by students against the centre on the issue of imposition of Hindi as the official language. This was the first time any non-Congress party had secured a majority of its own in any State. In the other eight States, coalition governments consisting of different non-Congress parties were formed. A popular saying was that one could take a train from Delhi to Howrah and not pass through a single Congress ruled State. It was a strange feeling for those who were used to seeing the Congress in power. So, was the domination of the Congress over?

What's so unusual in hung assemblies and coalition governments? We see them all the time.

Coalitions

The elections of 1967 brought into picture the phenomenon of coalitions. Since no single party had got majority, various non-Congress parties came together to form joint legislative parties (called Samyukt Vidhayak Dal in Hindi) that supported non-Congress governments. That is why these governments came to be described as SVD governments. In most of these cases the coalition partners were ideologically incongruent. The SVD government in Bihar, for instance, included the two socialist parties – SSP and the PSP – along with the CPI on the left and Jana Sangh on the right. In Punjab it was called the 'Popular United Front' and comprised the two rival Akali parties at that time – Sant group and the Master group – with both the communist parties – the CPI and the CPI(M), the SSP, the Republican Party and the Bharatiya Jana Sangh.



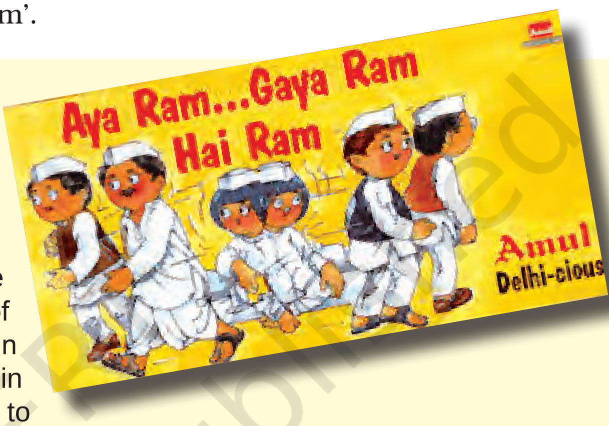
Credit: Kutty

A cartoonist's reading of Charan Singh's attempt to build a United Front of non-communist parties in 1974

Defection

Another important feature of the politics after the 1967 election was the role played by defections in the making and unmaking of governments in the States. Defection means an elected representative leaves the party on whose symbol he/she was elected and joins another party. After the 1967 general election, the breakaway Congress legislators played an important role in installing non-Congress governments in three States - Haryana, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. The constant realignments and shifting political loyalties in this period gave rise to the expression 'Aya Ram, Gaya Ram'.

The story of 'Aya Ram, Gaya Ram'



The expression 'aya ram, gaya ram' became popular in the political vocabulary in India to describe the practice of frequent floor-crossing by legislators. Literally translated the terms meant, Ram came and Ram went. The expression originated in an amazing feat of floor crossing achieved by Gaya Lal, an MLA in Haryana, in 1967. He changed his party thrice in a fortnight, from Congress to United Front, back to Congress and then within nine hours to United Front again! It is said that when Gaya Lal declared his intention to quit the United Front and join the Congress, the Congress leader, Rao Birendra Singh brought him to Chandigarh press and declared "Gaya Ram was now Aya Ram".

Gaya Lal's feat was immortalised in the phrase "Aya Ram, Gaya Ram" which became the subject of numerous jokes and cartoons. Later, the Constitution was amended to prevent defections.

Split in the Congress

We saw that after the 1967 elections, the Congress retained power at the Centre but with a reduced majority and lost power in many States. More importantly, the results proved that the Congress could be defeated at the elections. But there was no substitute as yet. Most non-Congress coalition governments in the States did not survive for long. They lost majority, and either new combinations were formed or President's rule had to be imposed.

Indira vs. the 'Syndicate'

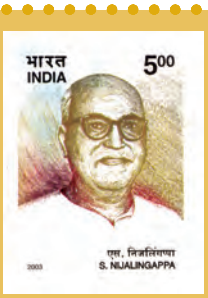
The real challenge to Indira Gandhi came not from the opposition but from within her own

भारत INDIA
25
के. कामराज
K. KAMARAJ 1903-1975

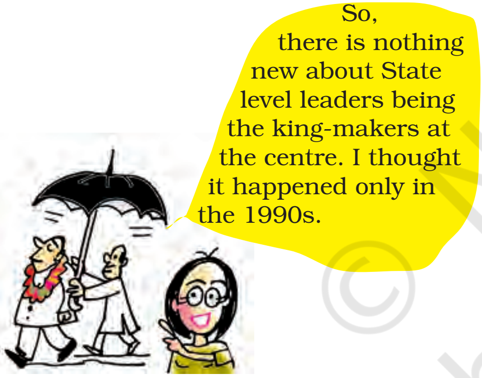
K. Kamaraj (1903-1975): Freedom fighter and Congress President; Chief Minister of Madras (Tamil Nadu); having suffered educational deprivation, made efforts to spread education in Madras province; introduced mid-day meal scheme for schoolchildren; in 1963 he proposed that all senior Congressmen should resign from office to make way for younger party workers—this proposal is famous as the 'Kamaraj plan.'

The Congress 'Syndicate'

Syndicate was the informal name given to a group of Congress leaders who were in control of the party's organisation. It was led by K. Kamraj, former Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu and then the president of the Congress party. It included powerful State leaders like S. K. Patil of Bombay city (later named as Mumbai), S. Nijalingappa of Mysore (later Karnataka), N. Sanjeeva Reddy of Andhra Pradesh and Atulya Ghosh of West Bengal. Both Lal Bahadur Shastri and later Indira Gandhi owed their position to the support received from the Syndicate. This group had a decisive say in Indira Gandhi's first Council of Ministers and also in policy formulation and implementation. After the Congress split the leaders of the syndicate and those owing allegiance to them stayed with the Congress (O). Since it was Indira Gandhi's Congress (R) that won the test of popularity, all these big and powerful men of Indian politics lost their power and prestige after 1971.

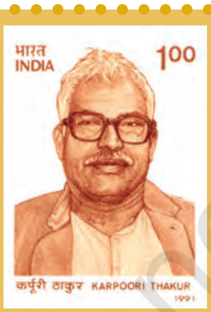


S. Nijalingappa (1902-2000): Senior Congress leader; Member of Constituent Assembly; member of Lok Sabha; Chief Minister of the then Mysore (Karnataka) State; regarded as the maker of modern Karnataka; President of Congress during 1968-71.


So, there is nothing new about State level leaders being the king-makers at the centre. I thought it happened only in the 1990s.

party. She had to deal with the 'syndicate', a group of powerful and influential leaders from within the Congress. The Syndicate had played a role in the installation of Indira Gandhi as the Prime Minister by ensuring her election as the leader of the parliamentary party. These leaders expected Indira Gandhi to follow their advise. Gradually, however, Indira Gandhi attempted to assert her position within the government and the party. She chose her trusted group of advisers from outside the party. Slowly and carefully, she sidelined the Syndicate.

Indira Gandhi thus faced two challenges. She needed to build her independence from the Syndicate. She also needed to work towards regaining the ground that the Congress had lost in the 1967 elections. Indira Gandhi adopted a very bold strategy. She converted a simple power struggle into an ideological struggle. She launched a series of initiatives to give the government policy a Left orientation. She got the Congress Working Committee to adopt a Ten Point Programme in May 1967. This programme included social control of banks, nationalisation of General Insurance, ceiling on urban property and income,



Karpoori Thakur (1924-1988): Chief Minister of Bihar between December 1970 and June 1971 and again between June 1977 and April 1979; Freedom Fighter and socialist leader; active in labour and peasant movements; staunch follower of Lohia; participated in the movement led by JP; known for his decision to introduce reservations for the backward classes in Bihar during his second Chief Ministership; strong opponent of the use of English Language.

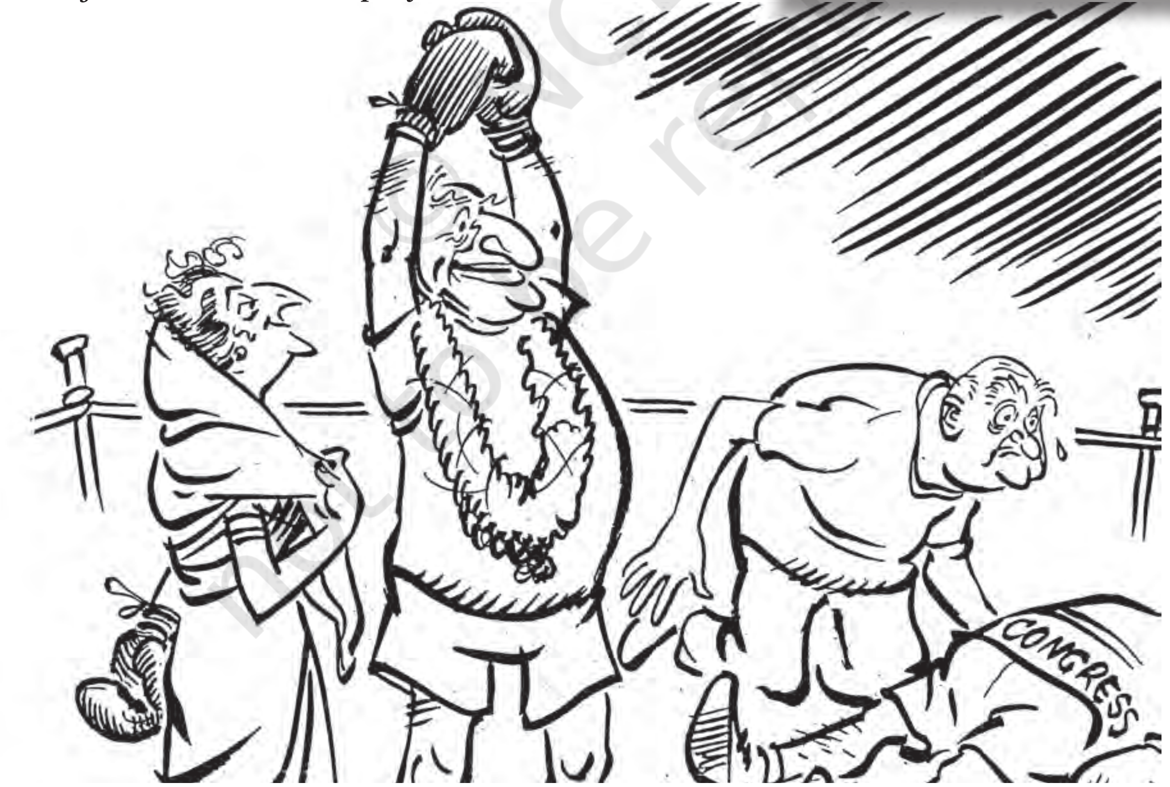
public distribution of food grains, land reforms and provision of house sites to the rural poor. While the ‘syndicate’ leaders formally approved this Left-wing programme, they had serious reservations about the same.

V.V. Giri (1894-1980): President of India from 1969 to 1974; Congress worker and labour leader from Andhra Pradesh; Indian High Commissioner to Ceylon (Sri Lanka); Labour Minister in Union cabinet; Governor of U.P., Kerala, Mysore (Karnataka); Vice-President (1967-1969) and acting President after the death of President Zakir Hussain; resigned and contested presidential election as independent candidate; received support from Indira Gandhi for his election as President.

25
भारत INDIA
वराहगिरि वेंकट गिरि V.V.GIRI
भारत के राष्ट्रपति PRESIDENT OF INDIA
1969-1974
1974

Presidential election, 1969

The factional rivalry between the Syndicate and Indira Gandhi came in the open in 1969. Following President Zakir Hussain’s death, the post of President of the India fell vacant that year. Despite Mrs Gandhi’s reservations the ‘syndicate’ managed to nominate her long time opponent and then speaker of the Lok Sabha, N. Sanjeeva Reddy, as the official Congress candidate for the ensuing Presidential elections. Indira Gandhi retaliated by encouraging the then Vice-President, V.V. Giri, to file his nomination as an independent candidate. She also announced several big and popular policy measures like the nationalisation of fourteen leading private banks and the abolition of the ‘privy purse’ or the special privileges given to former princes. Morarji Desai was the Deputy Prime Minister and



Credit: R. K. Laxman in The Times of India, 21 August 1969

“The Left Hook” was published after the victory of V.V. Giri, (the boxer with the garland) over the nominee of the Syndicate, represented here by Nijalingappa (on his knees).

> *History … is replete with instances of the tragedy that overtakes democracy when a leader who has risen to power on the crest of a popular wave or with the support of a democratic organisation becomes a victim of political narcissism and is egged on by a coterie of unscrupulous sycophants…..*
>
> ***S Nijalingappa***
> Letter to Indira Gandhi expelling her from the party, 11 November 1969.

Finance Minister. On both the above issues serious differences emerged between him and the Prime Minister resulting in Desai leaving the government.

Congress had seen differences of this kind in the past. But this time both the parties wanted a showdown which took place during the Presidential elections. The then Congress President S. Nijalingappa issued a 'whip' asking all the Congress MPs and MLAs to vote in favour of Sanjeeva Reddy, the official candidate of the party. Supporters of Indira Gandhi requisitioned a special meeting of the AICC (that is why this faction came to be known as 'requisitionists') but this was refused. After silently supporting V.V. Giri, the Prime Minister openly called for a 'conscience vote' which meant that the MPs and MLAs from the Congress should be free to vote the way they want. The election ultimately resulted in the victory of V.V. Giri, the independent candidate, and the defeat of Sanjeeva Reddy, the official Congress candidate.

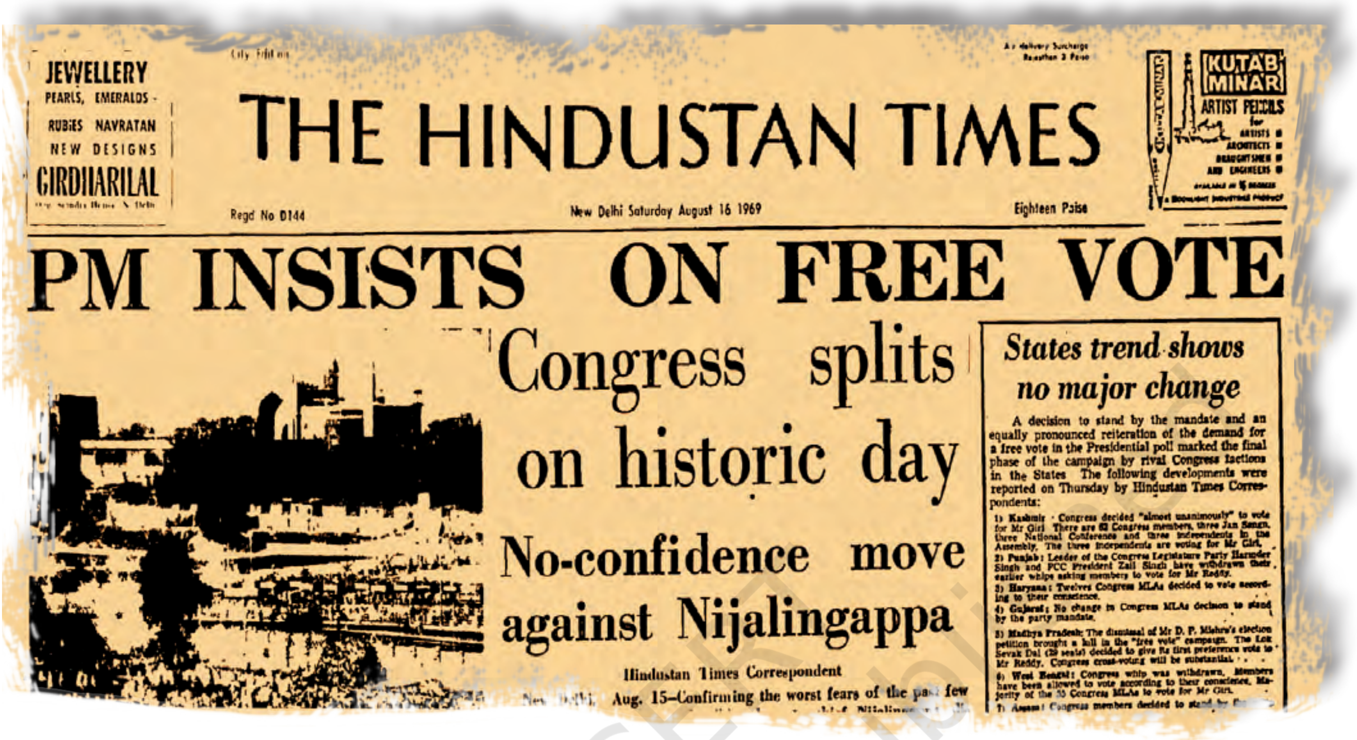
The defeat of the official Congress candidate formalised the split in the party. The Congress President expelled the Prime Minister from the party; she claimed that her group was the real Congress. By November 1969, the Congress group led by the 'syndicate' came to be referred to as the Congress (Organisation) and the group led by Indira Gandhi came to be called the Congress (Requisitionists). These two parties were also described as Old Congress and New Congress. Indira Gandhi projected the split as an ideological divide between socialists and conservatives, between the pro-poor and the pro-rich.

Abolition of Privy Purse

In Chapter One you have read about the integration of the Princely States. This integration was preceded by an assurance that after the dissolution of princely rule, the then rulers' families would be allowed to retain certain private property, and given a grant in heredity or government allowance, measured on the basis of the extent, revenue and potential of the merging state. This grant was called the privy purse. At the time of accession, there was little criticism of these privileges since integration and consolidation was the primary aim.

Yet, hereditary privileges were not consonant with the principles of equality and social and economic justice laid down in the Constitution of India. Nehru had expressed his dissatisfaction over the matter time and again. Following the 1967 elections, Indira Gandhi supported the demand that the government should abolish privy purses. Morarji Desai, however, called the move morally wrong and amounting to a 'breach of faith with the princes'.

The government tried to bring a Constitutional amendment in 1970, but it was not passed in Rajya Sabha. It then issued an ordinance which was struck down by the Supreme Court. Indira Gandhi made this into a major election issue in 1971 and got a lot of public support. Following its massive victory in the 1971 election, the Constitution was amended to remove legal obstacles for abolition of 'privy purse'.



JEWELLERY
PEARLS, EMERALDS -
RUBIES NAVRATAN
NEW DESIGNS
GIRDHARILAL

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THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

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New Delhi Saturday August 16 1969

Eighteen Paise

PM INSISTS ON FREE VOTE

Congress splits on historic day

No-confidence move against Nijalingappa

Hindustan Times Correspondent

New Delhi, Aug. 15—Confirming the worst fears of the past few

States trend shows no major change

A decision to stand by the mandate and an equally pronounced reiteration of the demand for a free vote in the Presidential poll marked the final phase of the campaign by rival Congress factions in the States. The following developments were reported on Thursday by Hindustan Times Correspondents:

1) **Kashmir** · Congress decided "almost unanimously" to vote for Mr Giri. There are 62 Congress members, three Jan Sangh, three National Conference and three Independents in the Assembly. The three Independents are voting for Mr Giri.

2) **Punjab**: Leader of the Congress Legislature Party Harinder Singh and PCC President Zail Singh have withdrawn their earlier whips asking members to vote for Mr Reddy.

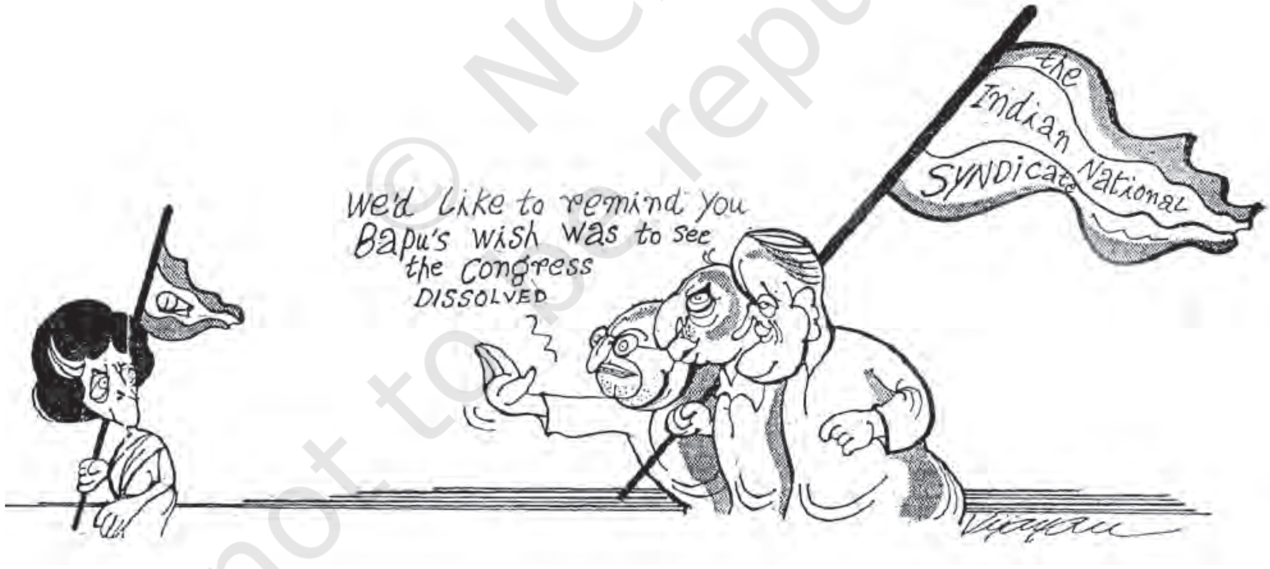
3) **Haryana**: Twelves Congress MLAs decided to vote according to their conscience.

4) **Gujarat**: No change in Congress MLAs decision to stand by the party mandate.

5) **Madhya Pradesh**: The dismissal of Mr D. P. Mishra's election petition brought a lull in the "free vote" campaign. The Lok Sevak Dal (29 seats) decided to give its first preference vote to Mr Reddy. Congress cross-voting will be substantial.

6) **West Bengal**: Congress whip was withdrawn. Members have been allowed to vote according to their conscience. Majority of the 55 Congress MLAs to vote for Mr Giri.

7) **Assam**: Congress members decided to stand by


the Indian National
SYNDICATE
We'd like to remind you Bapu's wish was to see the Congress DISSOLVED
Vijayan

Credit: Vijayan, *Shankar's Weekly*

20 July 1969

A cartoonist's impression of the leadership rivalry in the Congress Party in 1969.

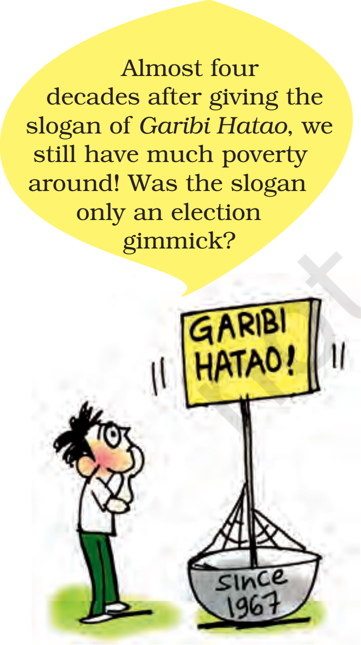
The 1971 Election and Restoration of Congress

The split in the Congress reduced Indira Gandhi Government to a minority. Yet her government continued in office with the issue-based support of a few other parties including the Communist Party of India and the DMK. During this period the government made conscious attempts to project its socialist credentials. This was also a phase when Indira Gandhi vigorously campaigned for implementing the existing land reform laws and undertook further land ceiling legislation. In order to end her dependence on other political parties, strengthen her party's position in the Parliament, and seek a popular mandate for her programmes, Indira Gandhi's government recommended the dissolution of the Lok Sabha in December 1970. This was another surprising and bold move. The fifth general election to Lok Sabha were held in February 1971.

The contest

The electoral contest appeared to be loaded against Congress(R). After all, the new Congress was just one faction of an already weak party. Everyone believed that the real organisational strength of the Congress party was under the command of Congress(O). To make matters worse for Indira Gandhi, all the major non-communist, non-Congress opposition parties formed an electoral alliance known as the Grand Alliance. The Samyukta Socialist Party (SSP), Praja Socialist Party (PSP), Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS), Swatantra Party (SWA) and the Bharatiya Kranti Dal (BKD) came together under this umbrella. The ruling party had an alliance with the Communist Party of India (CPI).

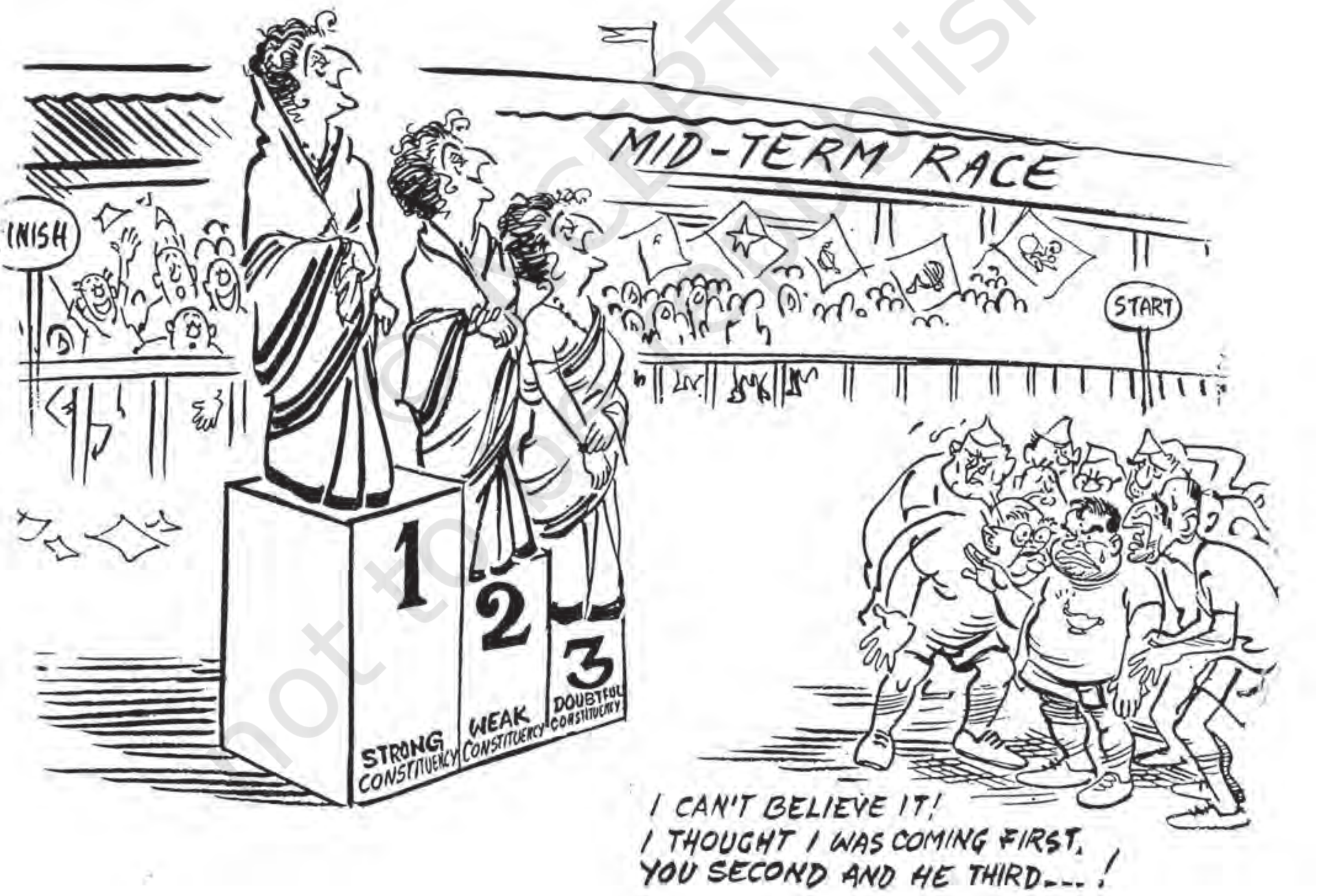
Yet the new Congress had something that its big opponents lacked – it had an issue, an agenda and a positive slogan. The Grand Alliance did not have a coherent political programme. Indira Gandhi said that the opposition alliance had only one common programme: *Indira Hatao* (Remove Indira). In contrast to this, she put forward a positive programme captured in the famous slogan: *Garibi Hatao* (Remove Poverty). She focused on the growth of the public sector, imposition of ceiling on rural land holdings and urban property, removal of disparities in income and opportunity, and abolition of princely privileges. Through *garibi hatao* Indira Gandhi tried to generate a support base among the disadvantaged, especially among the landless labourers, Dalits and Adivasis, minorities, women and the unemployed youth. The slogan of *garibi hatao* and the programmes that followed it were part of Indira Gandhi's political strategy of building an independent nationwide political support base.


Almost four decades after giving the slogan of *Garibi Hatao*, we still have much poverty around! Was the slogan only an election gimmick?
GARIBI HATAO!
SINCE 1967

The outcome and after

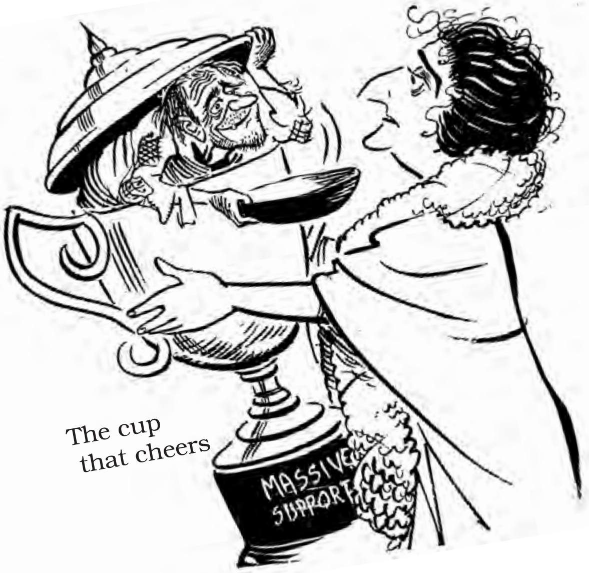
The results of the Lok Sabha elections of 1971, were as dramatic as was the decision to hold these elections. The Congress(R)-CPI alliance won more seats and votes than the Congress had ever won in the first four general elections. The combine won 375 seats in Lok Sabha and secured 48.4 per cent votes. Indira Gandhi's Congress(R) won 352 seats with about 44 per cent of the popular votes on its own. Contrast this with the performance of the Congress(O): the party with so many stalwarts could get less than one-fourth of the votes secured by Indira Gandhi's party and win merely 16 seats. With this the Congress party led by Indira Gandhi established its claim to being the 'real' Congress and restored to it the dominant position in Indian politics. The Grand Alliance of the opposition proved a grand failure. Their combined tally of seats was less than 60.

Credit: R. K. Laxman in The Times of India


INISH
MID-TERM RACE
START
1
2
3
STRONG CONSTITUENCY
WEAK CONSTITUENCY
DOUBTFUL CONSTITUENCY
I CAN'T BELIEVE IT! I THOUGHT I WAS COMING FIRST, YOU SECOND AND HE THIRD...!

"The Grand Finish" is how a cartoonist interpreted the outcome of the 1971 elections. Players on the ground are the then leading opposition figures.

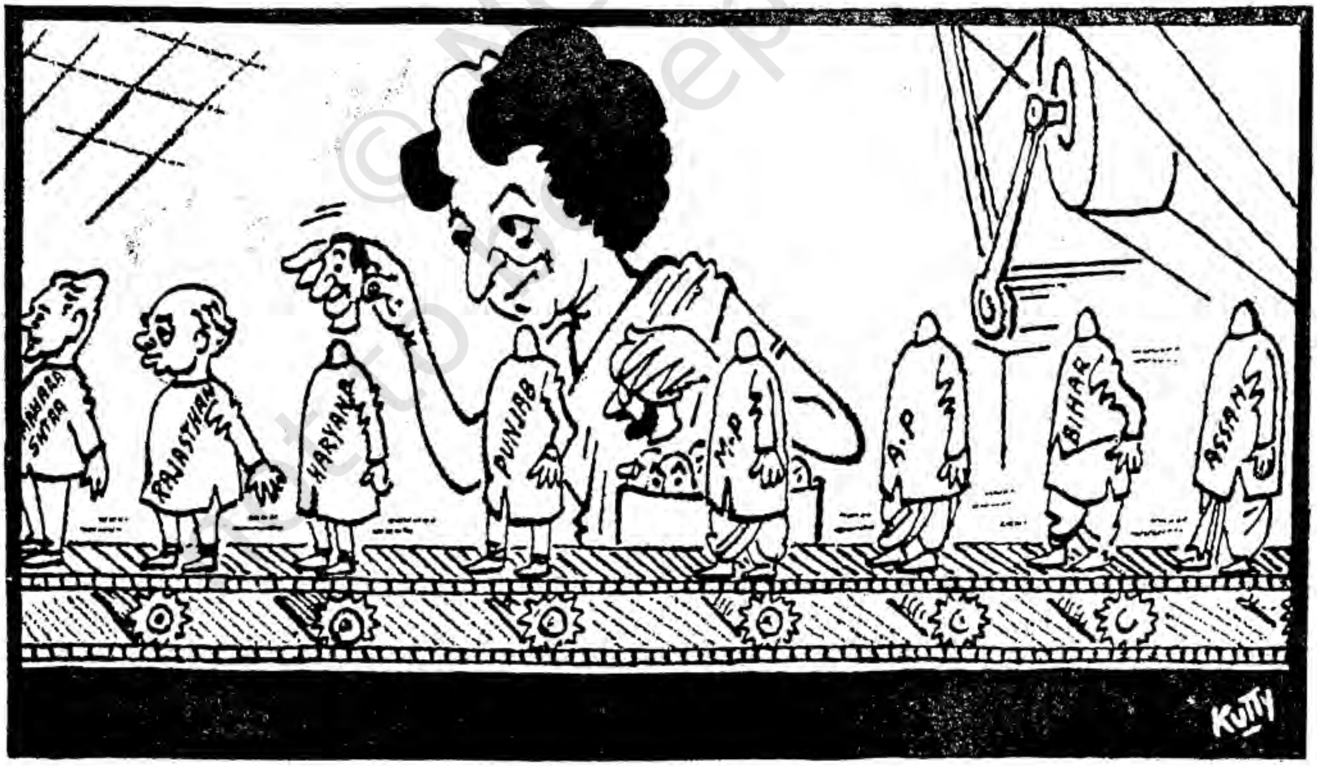
Credit: R. K. Laxman in the Times of India



The cup that cheers

Soon after the 1971 Lok Sabha elections, a major political and military crisis broke out in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). As you have read in Chapter Four, the 1971 elections were followed by the crisis in East Pakistan and the Indo-Pak war leading to the establishment of Bangladesh. These events added to the popularity of Indira Gandhi. Even the opposition leaders admired her statesmanship. Her party swept through all the State Assembly elections held in 1972. She was seen not only as the protector of the poor and the underprivileged, but also a strong nationalist leader. The opposition to her, either within the party or outside of it, simply did not matter.

With two successive election victories, one at the centre and other at the State level, the dominance of the Congress was restored. The Congress was now in power in almost all the States. It was also popular across different social sections. Within a span of four years, Indira Gandhi had warded off the challenge to her leadership and to the dominant position of the Congress party.



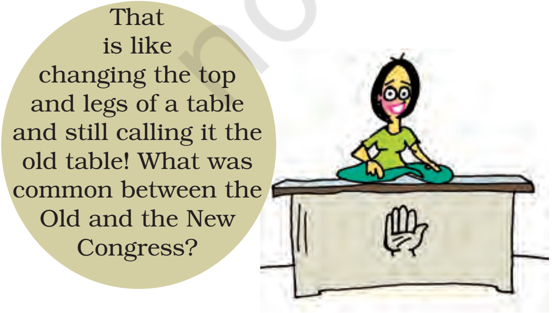
Credit: Kutty

The new manner of choosing CMs by Indira Gandhi inspired this cartoon.

Restoration?

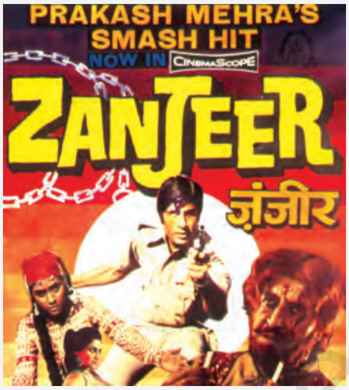
But does it mean that the Congress system was restored? What Indira Gandhi had done was not a revival of the old Congress party. In many ways she had re-invented the party. The party occupied a similar position in terms of its popularity as in the past. But it was a different kind of a party. It relied entirely on the popularity of the supreme leader. It had a somewhat weak organisational structure. This Congress party now did not have many factions, thus it could not accommodate all kinds of opinions and interests. While it won elections, it depended more on some social groups: the poor, the women, Dalits, Adivasis and the minorities. This was a new Congress that had emerged. Thus Indira Gandhi restored the Congress system by changing the nature of the Congress system itself.

Despite being more popular, the new Congress did not have the kind of capacity to absorb all tensions and conflicts that the Congress system was known for. While the Congress consolidated its position and Indira Gandhi assumed a position of unprecedented political authority, the spaces for democratic expression of people's aspirations actually shrank. The popular unrest and mobilisation around issues of development and economic deprivation continued to grow. In the next chapter you will read about how this led to a political crisis that threatened the very existence of constitutional democracy in the country.


That is like changing the top and legs of a table and still calling it the old table! What was common between the Old and the New Congress?

Let's watch a Film

ZANJEER



Vijay, a young police officer is framed in false charges and sent to jail while fighting gangsters. Released from jail, Vijay is determined to take revenge. He fights all odds and vanquishes the villains. Even while he is engaged in taking revenge, Vijay is fighting the anti-social element and gets the tacit support of many others from within the system.

This film portrayed the erosion of moral values and the deep frustrations arising from that quite forcefully. It represents the indifference of the system and the harsh and volcanic eruption of protest through the anger of Vijay. The film set the trend of what was later to be known as the 'angry young man' of the seventies.

Year: 1973
Director: Prakash Mehra
Screenplay: Salim Khan-Javed Akhtar
Cast: Amitabh Bachchan, Ajit, Jaya Bhaduri, Pran

EXERCISES

1. Which of these statements about the 1967 elections is/are correct?
   - (a) Congress won the Lok Sabha elections but lost the Assembly elections in many states.
   - (b) Congress lost both Lok Sabha and Assembly elections.
   - (c) Congress lost majority in the Lok Sabha but formed a coalition government with the support of some other parties.
   - (d) Congress retained power at the Centre with an increased majority.

2. Match the following:

(a) Syndicate	i. An elected representative leaving the party on whose ticket s/he has been elected
(b) Defection	ii. A catchy phrase that attracts public attention
(c) Slogan	iii. parties with different ideological position coming together to oppose Congress and its policies
(d) Anti-Congressism	iv. A group of powerful and influential leaders within the Congress

3. Whom would you identify with the following slogans/phrases?
   - (a) Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan
   - (b) Indira Hatao!
   - (c) Garibi Hatao!

4. Which of the following statement about the Grand Alliance of 1971 is correct?
   The Grand Alliance …..
   - (a) was formed by non-Communist, non-Congress parties.
   - (b) had a clear political and ideological programme.
   - (c) was formed by all non-Congress parties.

5. How should a political party resolve its internal differences? Here are some suggestions. Think of each and list out their advantages and shortcomings.
   - (a) Follow the footsteps of the party president
   - (b) Listen to the majority group
   - (c) Secret ballot voting on every issue
   - (d) Consult the senior and experienced leaders of the party

6. State which of these were reasons for the defeat of the Congress in 1967. Give reasons for your answer.
   - (a) The absence of a charismatic leader in the Congress party
   - (b) Split within the Congress party
   - (c) Increased mobilisation of regional, ethnic and communal groups

(d) Increasing unity among non-Congress parties
(e) Internal differences within the Congress party

7. What were the factors which led to the popularity of Indira Gandhi's Government in the early 1970s?

8. What does the term 'syndicate' mean in the context of the Congress party of the sixties? What role did the Syndicate play in the Congress party?

9. Discuss the major issue which led to the formal split of the Congress Party in 1969.

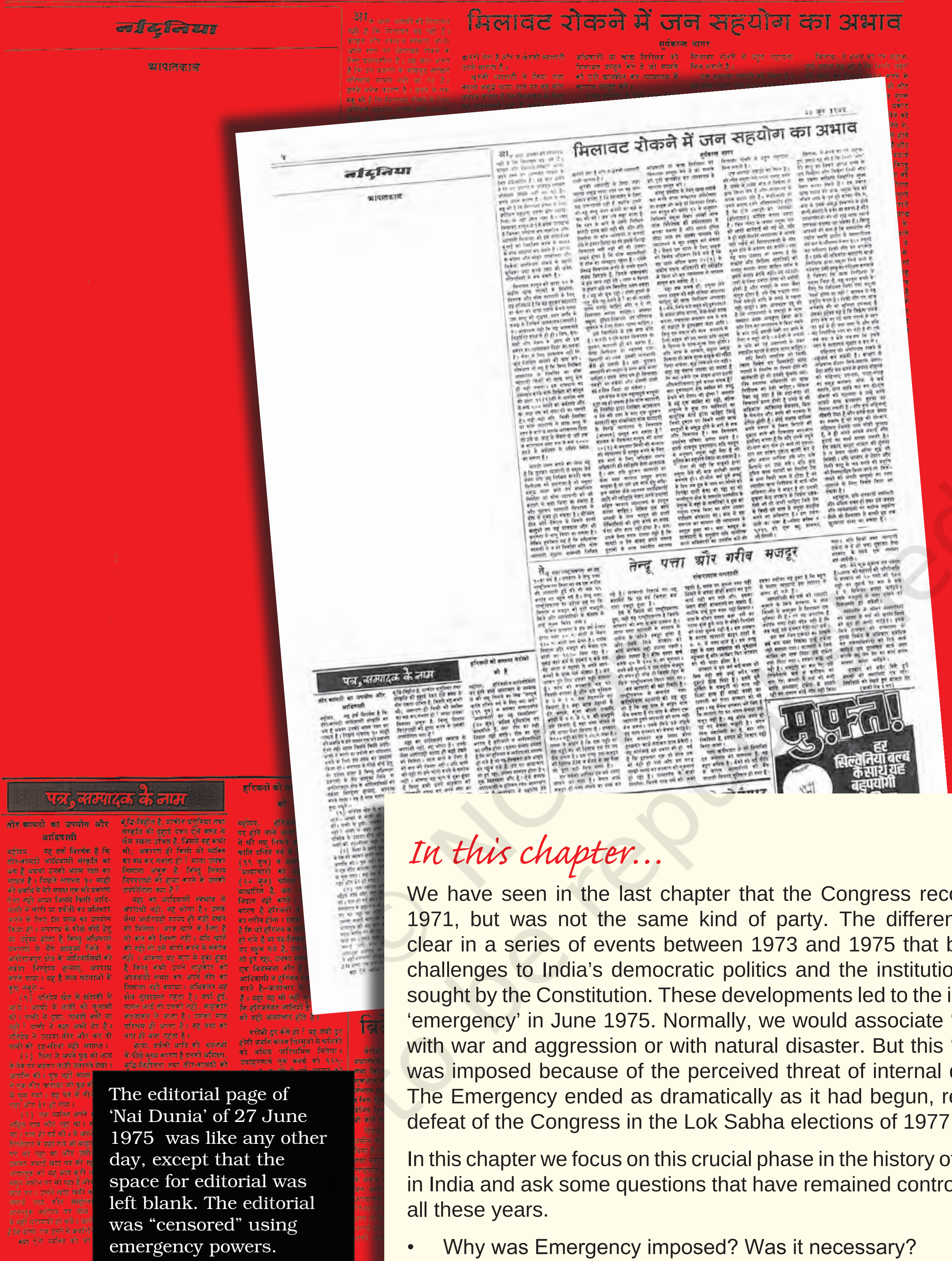
10. Read the passage and answer the questions below:

…Indira Gandhi changed the Congress into highly cerntalised and undemocratic party organisation, from the earlier federal, democratic and ideological formation that Nehru had led…..But this… could not have happened had not Indira Gandhi changed the entire nature of politics. This new, populist politics turned political ideology ……. into a mere electoral discourse, use of various slogans not meant to be translated into government policies…… During its great electoral victories in early 1970s, amidst the celebration, the Congress party as a political organisation died….. — SUDIPTA KAVIRAJ

(a) What according to the author is the difference between the strategies of Nehru and Indira Gandhi?
(b) Why does the author say that the Congress party 'died' in the seventies?
(c) In what way, did the change in the Congress party affect other political parties also?

LET US DO IT TOGETHER

- Make a list of slogans coined by political parties.
- Do you see any similarities between advertisements and manifestoes, slogans and advertisements of political parties?
- Have a discussion on how price rise affects the political fortunes of the political parties.



नईदुनिया

आपातकाल

मिलावट रोकने में जन सहयोग का अभाव

तेन्दू पत्ता और गरीब मजदूर

पत्र, सम्पादक के नाम

मुफ़्त! हर सिल्वेनिया बल्ब के साथ यह बहुपयोगी

The editorial page of 'Nai Dunia' of 27 June 1975 was like any other day, except that the space for editorial was left blank. The editorial was "censored" using emergency powers. Many other newspapers also carried such blank spaces–sometimes to protest against emergency. Later, leaving blank space was also banned.

In this chapter...

We have seen in the last chapter that the Congress recovered after 1971, but was not the same kind of party. The difference became clear in a series of events between 1973 and 1975 that brought new challenges to India's democratic politics and the institutional balance sought by the Constitution. These developments led to the imposition of 'emergency' in June 1975. Normally, we would associate 'emergency' with war and aggression or with natural disaster. But this 'emergency' was imposed because of the perceived threat of internal disturbance. The Emergency ended as dramatically as it had begun, resulting in a defeat of the Congress in the Lok Sabha elections of 1977.

In this chapter we focus on this crucial phase in the history of democracy in India and ask some questions that have remained controversial after all these years.

- Why was Emergency imposed? Was it necessary?
- What did the imposition of Emergency mean in practice?
- What were the consequences of Emergency on party politics?
- What are the lessons of Emergency for Indian democracy?

CHAPTER 6

THE CRISIS OF DEMOCRATIC ORDER

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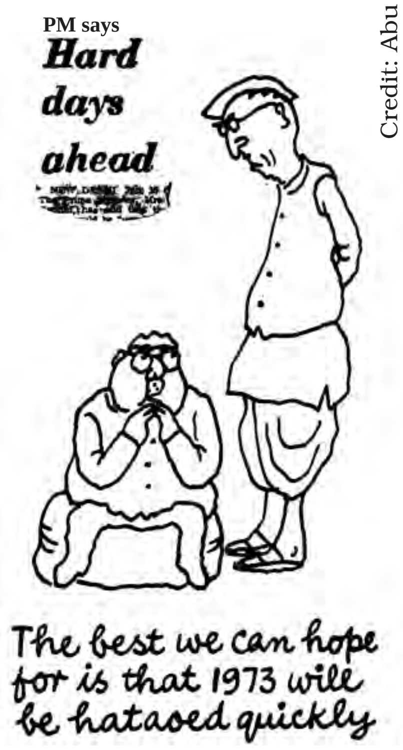
Background to Emergency

We have already studied the changes that were taking place in Indian politics since 1967. Indira Gandhi had emerged as a towering leader with tremendous popularity. This was also the period when party competition became bitter and polarised. This period also witnessed tensions in the relationship between the government and the judiciary. The Supreme Court found many initiatives of the government to be violative of the Constitution. The Congress party took the position that this stand of the Court was against principles of democracy and parliamentary supremacy. The Congress also alleged that the Court was a conservative institution and it was becoming an obstacle in the way of implementing pro-poor welfare programmes. The parties opposed to the Congress felt that politics was becoming too personalised and that governmental authority was being converted into personal authority. The split in the Congress had sharpened the divisions between Indira Gandhi and her opponents.

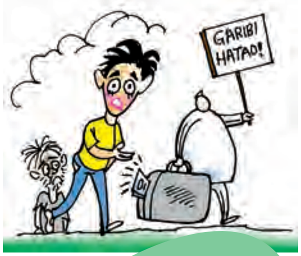
Economic context

In the elections of 1971, Congress had given the slogan of *garibi hatao* (remove poverty). However, the social and economic condition in the country did not improve much after 1971-72. The Bangladesh crisis had put a heavy strain on India's economy. About eight million people crossed over the East Pakistan border into India. This was followed by war with Pakistan. After the war the U.S government stopped all aid to India. In the international market, oil prices increased manifold during this period. This led to an all-round increase in prices of commodities. Prices increased by 23 per cent in 1973 and 30 per cent in 1974. Such a high level of inflation caused much hardship to the people.

Industrial growth was low and unemployment was very high, particularly in the rural areas. In order to reduce expenditure the government froze the salaries of its employees. This caused further dissatisfaction among government employees. Monsoons failed in 1972-1973. This resulted in a sharp decline in agricultural productivity. Food grain output declined by 8 per cent.



Credit: Abu


GARIBI HATAO!

Poor people must have had a tough time. What happened to the promise of *garibi hatao*?

There was a general atmosphere of dissatisfaction with the prevailing economic situation all over the country. In such a context non-Congress opposition parties were able to organise popular protests effectively. Instances of students' unrests that had persisted from the late 1960s became more pronounced in this period. There was also an increase in the activities of Marxist groups who did not believe in parliamentary politics. These groups had taken to arms and insurgent techniques for the overthrow of the capitalist order and the established political system. Known as the Marxist-Leninist (now Maoist) groups or Naxalites, they were particularly strong in West Bengal, where the State government took stringent measures to suppress them.

Gujarat and Bihar movements

Students' protests in Gujarat and Bihar, both of which were Congress ruled States, had far reaching impact on the politics of the two States and national politics. In January 1974 students in Gujarat started an agitation against rising prices of food grains, cooking oil and other essential commodities, and against corruption in high places. The students' protest was joined by major opposition parties and became widespread leading to the imposition of President's rule in the state. The opposition parties demanded fresh elections to the state legislature. Morarji Desai, a prominent leader of Congress (O), who was the main rival of Indira Gandhi when he was in the Congress, announced that he would go on an indefinite fast if fresh elections were not held in the State. Under intense pressure from students, supported by the opposition political parties, assembly elections were held in Gujarat in June 1975. The Congress was defeated in this election.

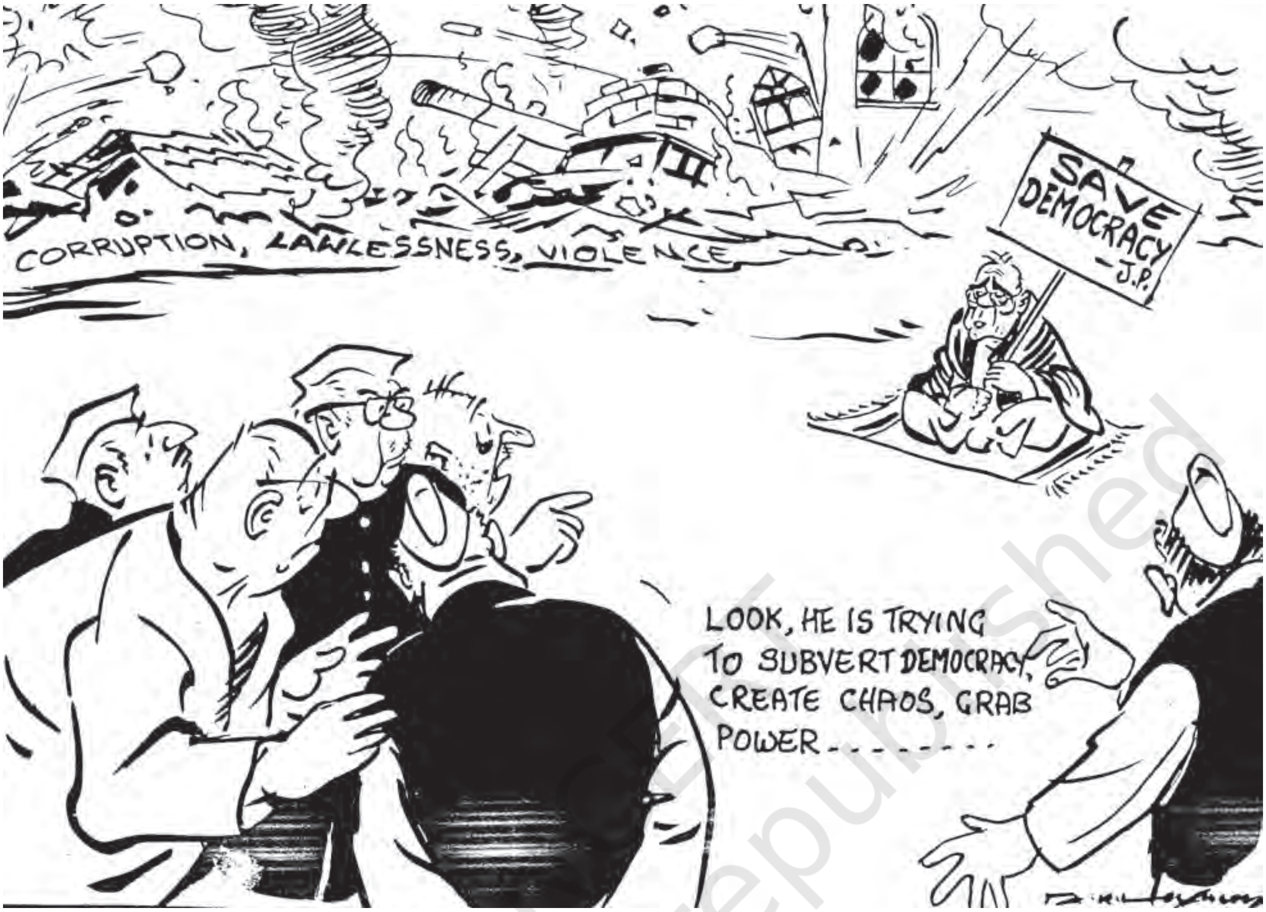
> *Sampoorna Kranti ab nara hai, bhavi itihas hamara hai [With Total Revolution as our motto, the future belongs to us]*

A slogan of the Bihar movement, 1974

In March 1974 students came together in Bihar to protest against rising prices, food scarcity, unemployment and corruption. After a point they invited Jayaprakash Narayan (JP), who had given up active politics and was involved in social work, to lead the student movement. He accepted it on the condition that the movement will remain non-violent and will not limit itself to Bihar. Thus the students' movement assumed a political character and had national appeal. People from all walks of life now entered the movement. Jayaprakash Narayan demanded the dismissal of the Congress government in Bihar and gave a call for total revolution in the social, economic and political spheres in order to establish what he considered to be true democracy. A series of bandhs, gehraos, and strikes

> *Indira is India, India is Indira*

A slogan given by D. K. Barooah, President of the Congress, 1974


CORRUPTION, LAWLESSNESS, VIOLENCE
SAVE DEMOCRACY —J.P.
LOOK, HE IS TRYING TO SUBVERT DEMOCRACY, CREATE CHAOS, GRAB POWER........

Credit: R. K. Laxman in The Times of India, 16 April 1974

were organised in protest against the Bihar government. The government, however, refused to resign.

The movement was beginning to influence national politics. Jayaprakash Narayan wanted to spread the Bihar movement to other parts of the country. Alongside the agitation led by Jayaprakash Narayan, the employees of the Railways gave a call for a nationwide strike. This threatened to paralyse the country. In 1975, JP led a peoples' march to the Parliament. This was one of the largest political rallies ever held in the capital. He was now supported by the non-Congress opposition parties like the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, the Congress (O), the Bharatiya Lok Dal, the Socialist Party and others. These

भारत INDIA 4.00
2001
जयप्रकाश नारायण
JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

Loknayak Jayaprakash Narayan (JP) (1902-1979): A marxist in his youth; founder general secretary of the Congress Socialist Party and the Socialist Party; a hero of the 1942 Quit India movement; declined to join Nehru's cabinet; after 1955 quit active politics; became a Gandhian and was involved in the Bhoodan movement, negotiations with the Naga rebels, peace initiative in Kashmir and ensured the surrender of decoits in Chambal; leader of Bihar movement, he became the symbol of opposition to Emergency and was the moving force behind the formation of Janata Party.

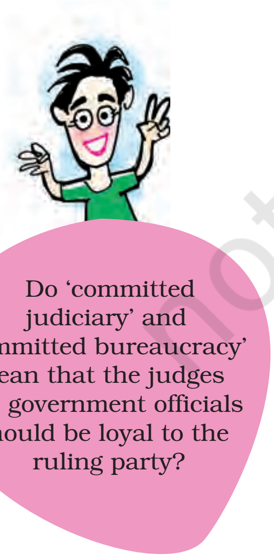
parties were projecting JP as an alternative to Indira Gandhi. However, there were many criticisms about his ideas and about the politics of mass agitations that he was employing. Both the Gujarat and Bihar agitations were seen as anti-Congress and rather than opposing the State governments, they were seen as protests against the leadership of Indira Gandhi. She believed that the movement was motivated by personal opposition to her.

Railway Strike of 1974

What would happen when the railways stop running? Not for one or two days, but for more than a week? Of course, many people would be inconvenienced; but more than that, the economy of the country would come to a halt because goods are transported from one part to another by trains.

Do you know that such a thing actually happened in 1974? The National Coordination Committee for Railwaymen's Struggle led by George Fernandes gave a call for nationwide strike by all employees of the Railways for pressing their demands related to bonus and service conditions. The government was opposed to these demands. So, the employees of India's largest public sector undertaking went on a strike in May 1974. The strike by the Railway employees added to the atmosphere of labour unrest. It also raised issues like rights of the workers and whether employees of essential services should adopt measures like strikes.

The government declared the strike illegal. As the government refused to concede the demands of the striking workers, arrested many of their leaders and deployed the territorial army to protect railway tracks, the strike had to be called off after twenty days without any settlement.


Do 'committed judiciary' and 'committed bureaucracy' mean that the judges and government officials should be loyal to the ruling party?

Conflict with Judiciary

This was also the period when the government and the ruling party had many differences with the judiciary. Do you remember the discussion about the long drawn conflict between the Parliament and the judiciary? You have studied this last year. Three constitutional issues had emerged. Can the Parliament abridge Fundamental Rights? The Supreme Court said it cannot. Secondly, can the Parliament curtail the right to property by making an amendment? Again, the Court said that Parliament cannot amend the Constitution in such a manner that rights are curtailed. Thirdly, the Parliament amended the Constitution saying that it can abridge Fundamental Rights for giving effect to Directive Principles. But the Supreme Court rejected this provision also. This led to a crisis as far as the relations between the government and the judiciary were concerned. You may remember that this crisis culminated in the famous Kesavananda Bharati Case. In this case, the Court gave a decision that there are some basic features of the Constitution and the Parliament cannot amend these features.

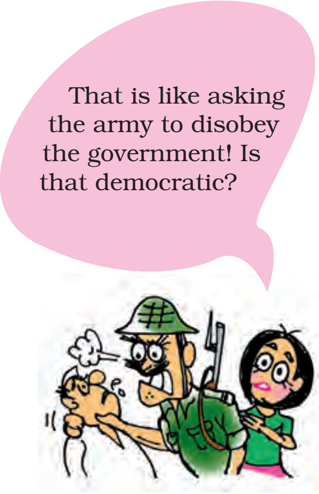
Two developments further added to the tension between the judiciary and the executive. Immediately after the Supreme Court's decision in 1973 in the Keshavananda Bharati case, a vacancy arose for the post of the Chief Justice of India. It had been a practice to appoint the senior-most judge of the Supreme Court as the Chief Justice. But in 1973, the government set aside the seniority of three judges and appointed Justice A. N. Ray as the Chief Justice of India. The appointment became politically controversial because all the three judges who were superseded had given rulings against the stand of the government. Thus, constitutional interpretations and political ideologies were getting mixed up rapidly. People close to the Prime Minister started talking of the need for a judiciary and the bureaucracy 'committed' to the vision of the executive and the legislature. The climax of the confrontation was of course the ruling of the High Court declaring Indira Gandhi's election invalid.

Declaration of Emergency

On 12 June 1975, Justice Jagmohan Lal Sinha of the Allahabad High Court passed a judgment declaring Indira Gandhi's election to the Lok Sabha invalid. This order came on an election petition filed by Raj Narain, a socialist leader and a candidate who had contested against her in 1971. The petition, challenged the election of Indira Gandhi on the ground that she had used the services of government servants in her election campaign. The judgment of the High Court meant that legally she was no more an MP and therefore, could not remain the Prime Minister unless she was once again elected as an MP within six months. On June 24, the Supreme Court granted her a partial stay on the High Court order – till her appeal was decided, she could remain an MP but could not take part in the proceedings of the Lok Sabha.

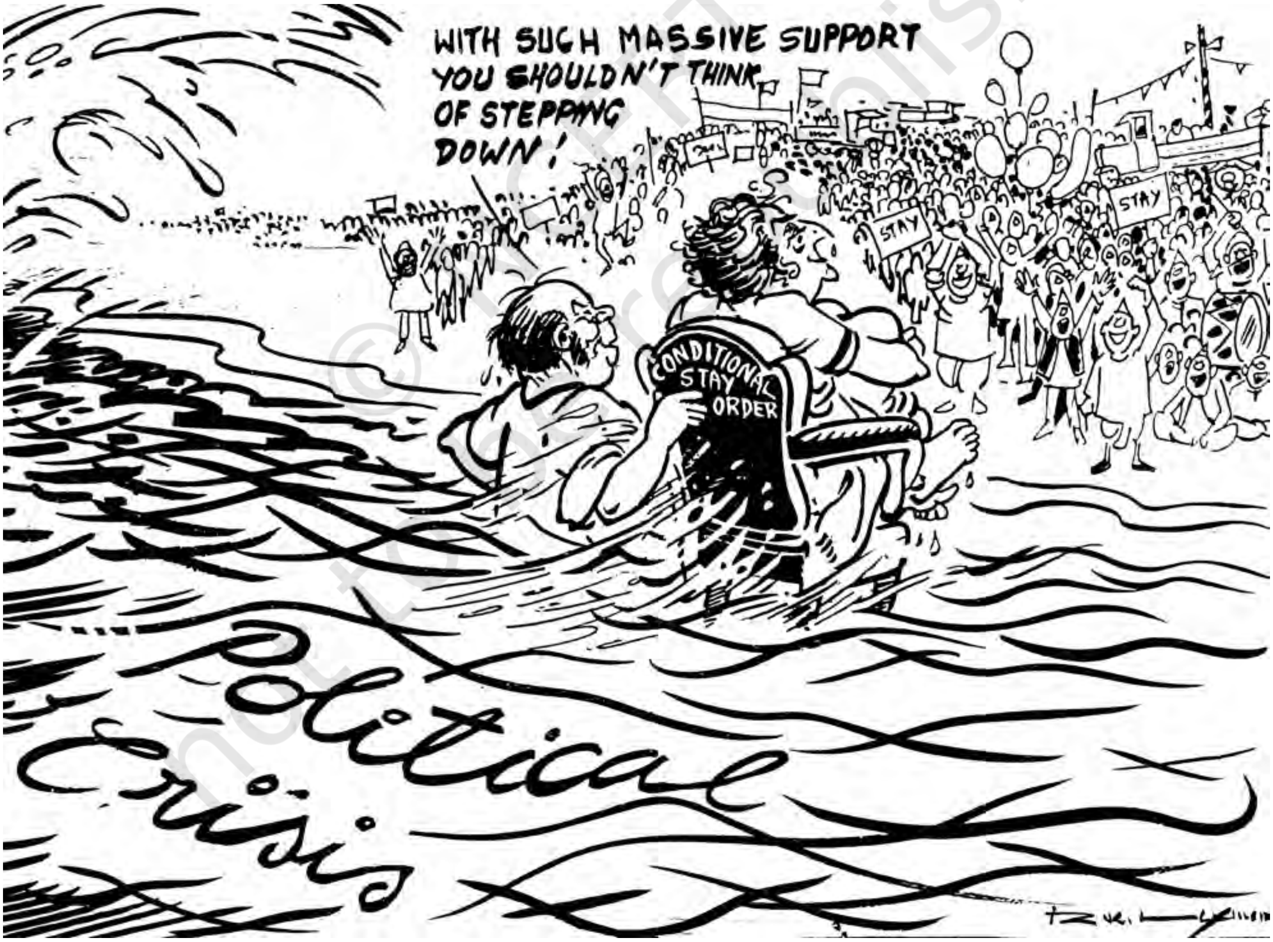
Crisis and response

The stage was now set for a big political confrontation. The opposition political parties led by Jayaprakash Narayan pressed for Indira Gandhi's resignation and organised a massive demonstration in Delhi's Ramlila grounds on 25 June 1975. Jayaprakash announced a nationwide satyagraha for her resignation and asked the army, the police and government employees not to obey "illegal and immoral orders". This too threatened to bring the activities of the government to a standstill. The political mood of the country had turned against the Congress, more than ever before.


That is like asking the army to disobey the government! Is that democratic?

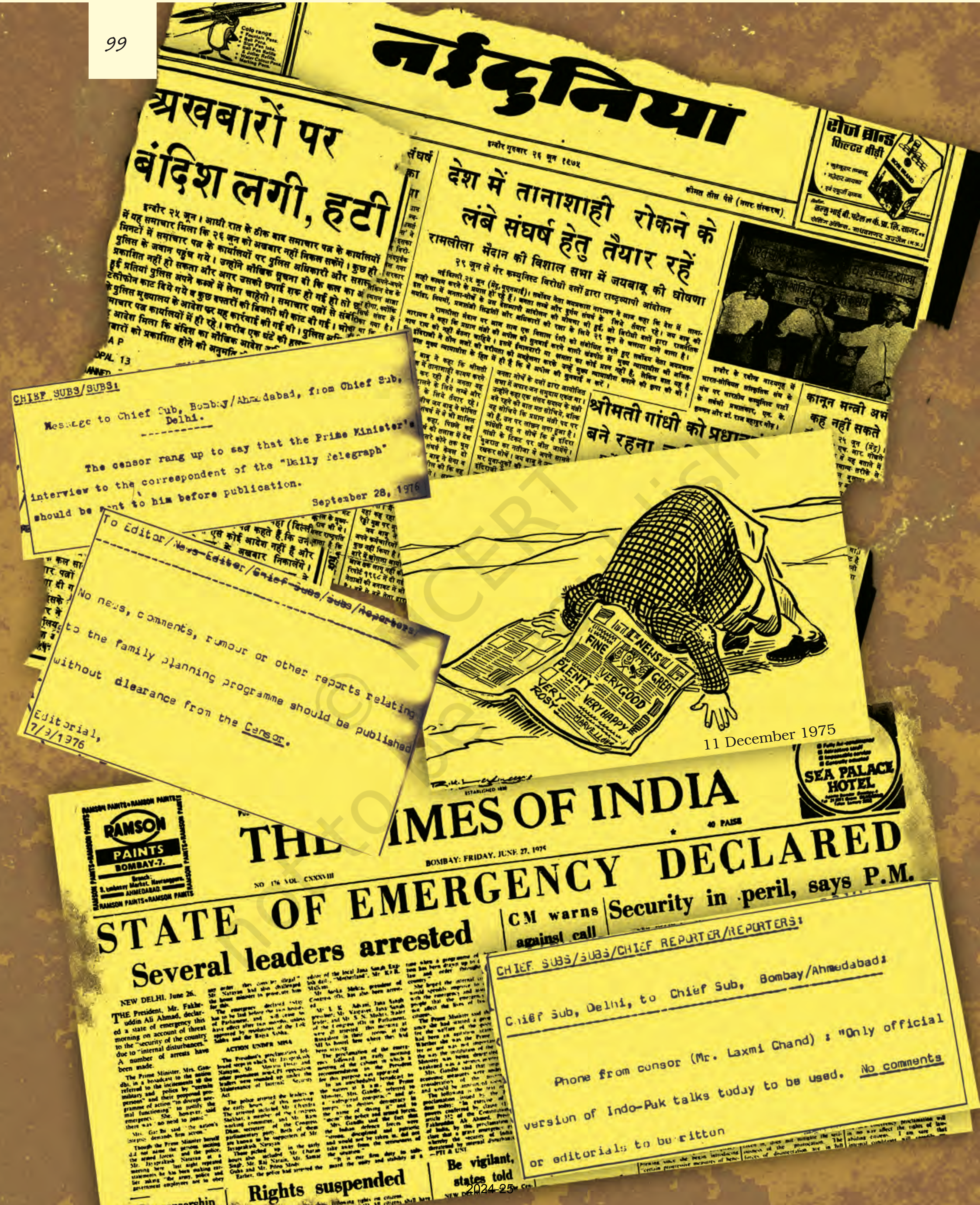
The response of the government was to declare a state of emergency. On 25 June 1975, the government declared that there was a threat of internal disturbances and therefore, it invoked Article 352 of the Constitution. Under the provision of this article the government could declare a state of emergency on grounds of external threat or a threat of internal disturbances. The government decided that a grave crisis had arisen which made the proclamation of a state of emergency necessary. Technically speaking this was within the powers of the government, for our Constitution provides for some special powers to the government once an emergency is declared.

Once an emergency is proclaimed, the federal distribution of powers remains practically suspended and all the powers are concentrated in the hands of the union government. Secondly, the government also gets the power to curtail or restrict all or any of the Fundamental Rights during the emergency. From the wording of the provisions of the Constitution, it is clear that an Emergency is seen as an


WITH SUCH MASSIVE SUPPORT YOU SHOULDN'T THINK OF STEPPING DOWN!
STAY
STAY
CONDITIONAL STAY ORDER
Political Crisis

Credit: R. K. Laxman in The Times of India, 26 June 1975

This cartoon appeared few days before the declaration of Emergency and captures the sense of impending political crisis. The man behind the chair is D. K. Barooah, the Congress President.



Colo range
• Fountain Pens.
• Ball Pens.
• Sign Pen Inks.
• Ball Pen Refills & Jotter Refills.
• Water Colour Pens.
• Marking Pens.

नईदुनिया

इन्दौर गुरुवार २६ जून १९७५

कीमत तीस पैसे (नगर संस्करण)

अखबारों पर बंदिश लगी, हटी

इन्दौर २५ जून। आधी रात के ठीक बाद समाचार पत्र के कार्यालयों में यह समाचार मिला कि २६ जून को अखबार नहीं निकल सकेंगे। कुछ ही मिनटों में समाचार पत्र के कार्यालयों पर पुलिस अधिकारी और सशस्
पुलिस के जवान पहुंच गये। उन्होंने मौखिक सूचना दी कि कल का अं
प्रकाशित नहीं हो सकता और अगर उसकी छपाई शुरू हो गई हो तो छ
हुई प्रतियां पुलिस अपने कब्जे में लेना चाहेगी। समाचार पत्रों से संबं
टेलीफोन काट दिये गये व कुछ दफ्तरों की बिजली भी काट दी गई। भोपा
के पुलिस मुख्यालय के आदेश पर यह कार्रवाई की गई थी। पुलिस अ
माचार पत्र कार्यालयों में ही रहे। करीब एक घंटे की हल
आदेश मिला कि बंदिश का मौखिक आदेश
बारों को प्रकाशित होने की अनुमति

देश में तानाशाही रोकने के लंबे संघर्ष हेतु तैयार रहें

रामलीला मैदान की विशाल सभा में जयबाबू की घोषणा

२९ जून से गैर कम्युनिस्ट विरोधी दलों द्वारा राष्ट्रव्यापी आंदोलन

इन्दौर के रवीन्द्र नाट्यगृह में भारत-सोवियत सांस्कृतिक संघ के मंच पर भारतीय कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के सर्वश्री प्रभातकार, एम. के. हुम्मन और डॉ. राज बहादुर गौड़।

श्रीमती गांधी को प्रधा
बने रहना

कानून मन्त्री अ
कह नहीं सकते

CHIEF SUBS/SUBS:

Message to Chief Sub, Bombay/Ahmedabad, from Chief Sub, Delhi.

The censor rang up to say that the Prime Minister's interview to the correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph" should be sent to him before publication.

September 28, 1976

To Editor/~~News Editor~~/~~Chief Subs~~/~~Subs~~/~~Reporters~~/

No news, comments, rumour or other reports relating to the family planning programme should be published without clearance from the Censor.

Editorial,
7/9/1976

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11 December 1975

THE TIMES OF INDIA

ESTABLISHED 1838

40 PAISE

BOMBAY: FRIDAY, JUNE 27, 1975

NO. 176 VOL. CXXXVIII

RAMSON PAINTS BOMBAY-7.

STATE OF EMERGENCY DECLARED

Several leaders arrested

CM warns against call

Security in peril, says P.M.

NEW DELHI, June 26.

THE President, Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmad, declared a state of emergency this morning on account of threat to the "security of the country" due to "internal disturbances." A number of arrests have been made.

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, in a broadcast to the nation referred to the incitements to the military and police by "certain persons" and their proposed programme of action "to disrupt normal functioning" to justify the emergency. She, however, said there was "no need to panic."

ACTION UNDER MISA

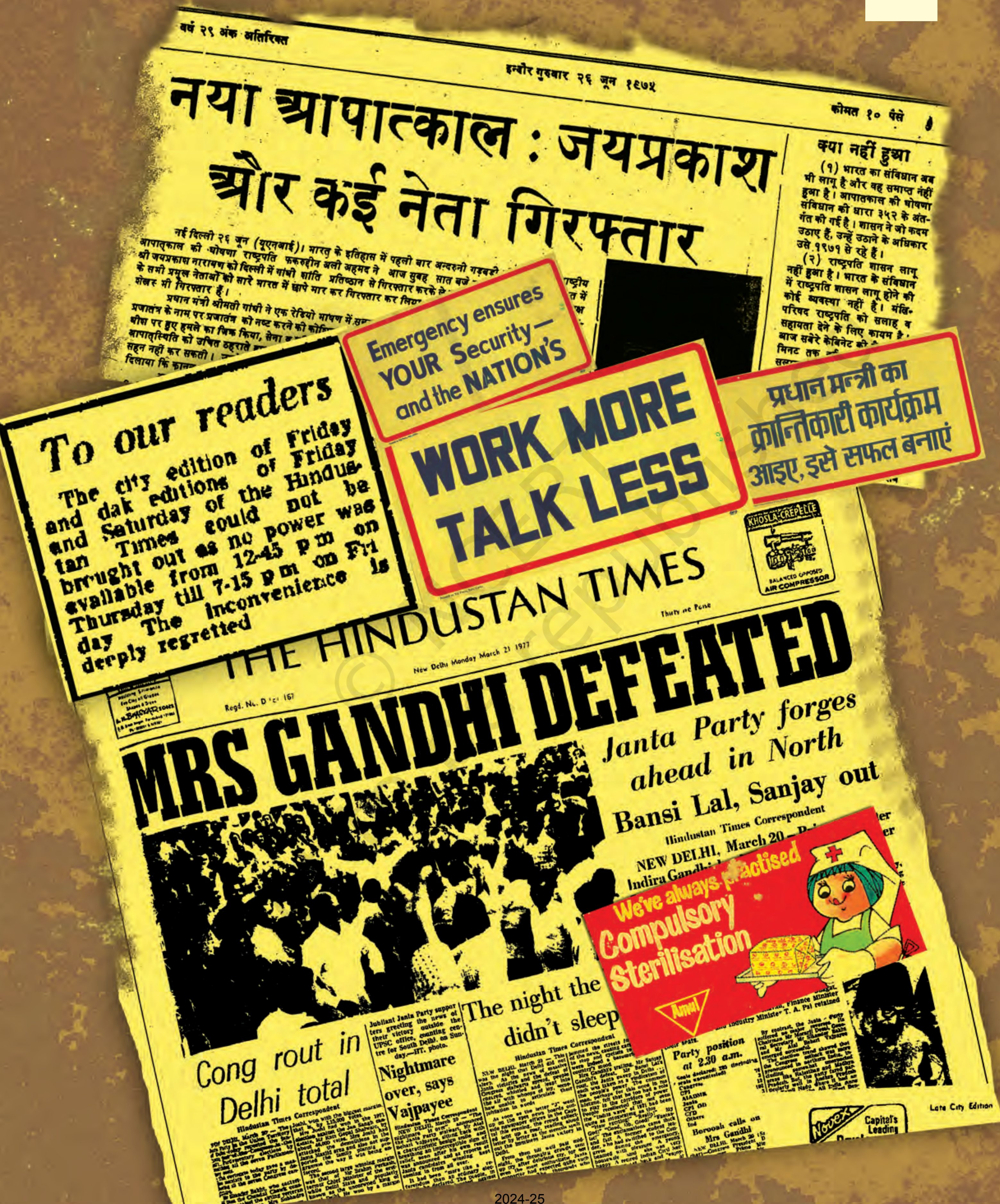
Be vigilant, states told

Rights suspended

CHIEF SUBS/SUBS/CHIEF REPORTER/REPORTERS:

Chief Sub, Delhi, to Chief Sub, Bombay/Ahmedabad:

Phone from censor (Mr. Laxmi Chand) : "Only official version of Indo-Pak talks today to be used. No comments or editorials to be written



वर्ष २९ अंक अतिरिक्त

इन्दौर गुरुवार २६ जून १९७५

कीमत १० पैसे

नया आपात्काल : जयप्रकाश और कई नेता गिरफ्तार

नई दिल्ली २६ जून (यूएनआई)। भारत के इतिहास में पहली बार अन्दरूनी गड़बड़ी
आपात्काल की घोषणा राष्ट्रपति फखरुद्दीन अली अहमद ने आज सुबह सात बजे
श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण को दिल्ली में गांधी शांति प्रतिष्ठान से गिरफ्तार करके
के सभी प्रमुख नेताओं को सारे भारत में छापे मार कर गिरफ्तार कर लिया
शेखर भी गिरफ्तार हैं।

प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती गांधी ने एक रेडियो भाषण में
प्रजातंत्र के नाम पर प्रजातंत्र को नष्ट करने की कोशि
धीश पर हुए हमले का जिक्र किया, सेना
आपातस्थिति को उचित ठहराते
सहन नहीं कर सकती।
दिलाया कि कानू

क्या नहीं हुआ

(१) भारत का संविधान अब भी लागू है और वह समाप्त नहीं हुआ है। आपातकाल की घोषणा संविधान की धारा ३५२ के अंतर्गत की गई है। शासन ने जो कदम उठाए हैं, उन्हें उठाने के अधिकार उसे १९७१ से रहे हैं।

(२) राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू नहीं हुआ है। भारत के संविधान में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू होने की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है। मंत्रि-परिषद राष्ट्रपति को सलाह व सहायता देने के लिए कायम है। आज सवेरे केबिनेट की
मिनट तक

Emergency ensures YOUR Security — and the NATION'S

WORK MORE TALK LESS

प्रधान मन्त्री का क्रान्तिकारी कार्यक्रम आइए, इसे सफल बनाएं

To our readers

The city edition of Friday and dak editions of Friday and Saturday of the Hindustan Times could not be brought out as no power was available from 12-45 p m on Thursday till 7-15 p m on Friday The inconvenience is deeply regretted

KHOSLA-CREPELLE
BALANCED OPPOSED AIR COMPRESSOR

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

New Delhi Monday March 21 1977

Regd. No. D 167

MRS GANDHI DEFEATED

Janta Party forges ahead in North

Bansi Lal, Sanjay out

Hindustan Times Correspondent

NEW DELHI, March 20 —
Indira Gandhi

Jubilant Janta Party supporters greeting the news of their victory outside the UPSC office, counting centre for South Delhi, on Sunday.—HT. photo.

Cong rout in Delhi total

Hindustan Times Correspondent

Nightmare over, says Vajpayee

Hindustan Times Correspondent

The night the didn't sleep

Hindustan Times Correspondent

Party position at 2.30 a.m.

Boroosh calls on Mrs Gandhi

Late City Edition

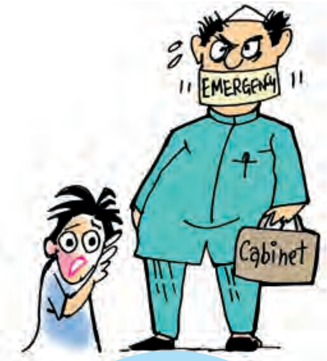
Novex Capital's Leading

We've always practised Compulsory Sterilisation

Amul

extraordinary condition in which normal democratic politics cannot function. Therefore, special powers are granted to the government.

On the night of 25 June 1975, the Prime Minister recommended the imposition of Emergency to President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed. He issued the proclamation immediately. After midnight, the electricity to all the major newspaper offices was disconnected. In the early morning, a large number of leaders and workers of the opposition parties were arrested. The Cabinet was informed about it at a special meeting at 6 a.m. on 26 June, after all this had taken place.



Should the President have declared Emergency without any recommendation from the Cabinet?

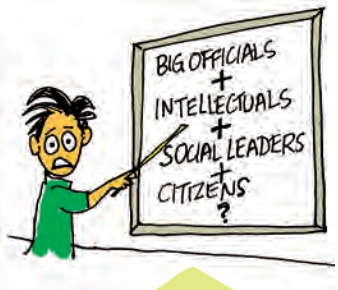
Consequences

This brought the agitation to an abrupt stop; strikes were banned; many opposition leaders were put in jail; the political situation became very quiet though tense. Deciding to use its special powers under Emergency provisions, the government suspended the freedom of the Press. Newspapers were asked to get prior approval for all material to be published. This is known as press censorship. Apprehending social and communal disharmony, the government banned Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and Jamait-e-Islami. Protests and strikes and public agitations were also disallowed. Most importantly, under the provisions of Emergency, the various Fundamental Rights of citizens stood suspended, including the right of citizens to move the Court for restoring their Fundamental Rights.

The government made extensive use of preventive detention. Under this provision, people are arrested and detained not because they have committed any offence, but on the apprehension that they may commit an offence. Using preventive detention acts, the government made large scale arrests during the Emergency. Arrested political workers could not challenge their arrest through habeas corpus petitions. Many cases were filed in the High Courts and the Supreme Court by and on behalf of arrested persons, but the government claimed that it was not even necessary to inform the arrested persons of the reasons and grounds of their arrest. Several High Courts gave judgments that even after the declaration of Emergency the courts could entertain a writ of habeas corpus filed by a person challenging his/her detention. In April 1976, the constitution bench of the Supreme Court over-ruled the High Courts and accepted the government's plea. It meant that during Emergency the government could take away the citizen's right to life and liberty. This judgment closed the doors of judiciary for the citizens and is regarded as one of the most controversial judgments of the Supreme Court.

Now, even the Supreme Court gave in! What was happening to everyone in those days?

There were many acts of dissent and resistance to the Emergency. Many political workers who were not arrested in the first wave, went 'underground' and organised protests against the government. Newspapers like the *Indian Express* and the *Statesman* protested against censorship by leaving blank spaces where news items had been censored. Magazines like the *Seminar* and the *Mainstream*



Let us not talk about the few who protested. What about the rest? All the big officials, intellectuals, social and religious leaders, citizens… What were they doing?

chose to close down rather than submit to censorship. Many journalists were arrested for writing against the Emergency. Many underground newsletters and leaflets were published to bypass censorship. Kannada writer Shivarama Karanth, awarded with Padma Bhushan, and Hindi writer Fanishwarnath Renu, awarded with Padma Shri, returned their awards in protest against the suspension of democracy. By and large, though, such open acts of defiance and resistance were rare.

The Parliament also brought in many new changes to the Constitution. In the background of the ruling of the Allahabad High Court in the Indira Gandhi case, an amendment was made declaring that elections of Prime Minister, President and Vice-President could not be challenged in the Court. The forty-second amendment was also passed during the Emergency. You have already studied that this amendment consisted of a series of changes in many parts of the Constitution. Among the various changes made by this amendment, one was that the duration of the legislatures in the country was extended from five to six years. This change was not only for the Emergency period, but was intended to be of a permanent nature. Besides this, during an Emergency, elections can be postponed by one year. Thus, effectively, after 1971, elections needed to be held only in 1978; instead of 1976.

> *… death of D. E. M. O'Cracy, mourned by his wife T. Ruth, his son L. I. Bertie, and his daughters Faith, Hope and Justice.*

An anonymous advertisement in the Times of India, soon after the declaration of Emergency, 1975.

Lessons of the Emergency

The Emergency at once brought out both the weaknesses and the strengths of India's democracy. Though there are many observers who think that India ceased to be democratic during the Emergency, it is noteworthy that normal democratic functioning resumed within a short span of time. Thus, one lesson of Emergency is that it is extremely difficult to do away with democracy in India.

Secondly, it brought out some ambiguities regarding the Emergency provision in the Constitution that have been rectified since. Now, 'internal' Emergency can be proclaimed only on the grounds of 'armed rebellion' and it is necessary that the advice to the President to proclaim Emergency must be given in writing by the Union Cabinet.

> *Today is India's Independence Day… Don't Let the Lights Go Out on India's Democracy*

An advertisement in The Times, London, 15 August 1975 by 'Free JP Campaign'.

Thirdly, the Emergency made everyone more aware of the value of civil liberties. The Courts too, have taken an active role after the Emergency in protecting the civil liberties of the individuals. This is a response to the inability of the judiciary to protect civil liberties effectively during the emergency. Many civil liberties organisations came up after this experience.

However, the critical years of emergency brought many issues that have not been adequately grappled with. We have noted in this chapter that there is a tension between routine functioning of a democratic government and the continuous political protests by parties and groups. What is the correct balance between the two? Should the citizens have full freedom to engage in protest activity or should they have no such right at all? What are the limits to such a protest?

Secondly, the actual implementation of the Emergency rule took place through the police and the administration. These institutions could not function independently. They were turned into political instruments of the ruling party and according to the Shah Commission Report, the administration and the police became vulnerable to political pressures. This problem did not vanish after the Emergency.

Politics after Emergency

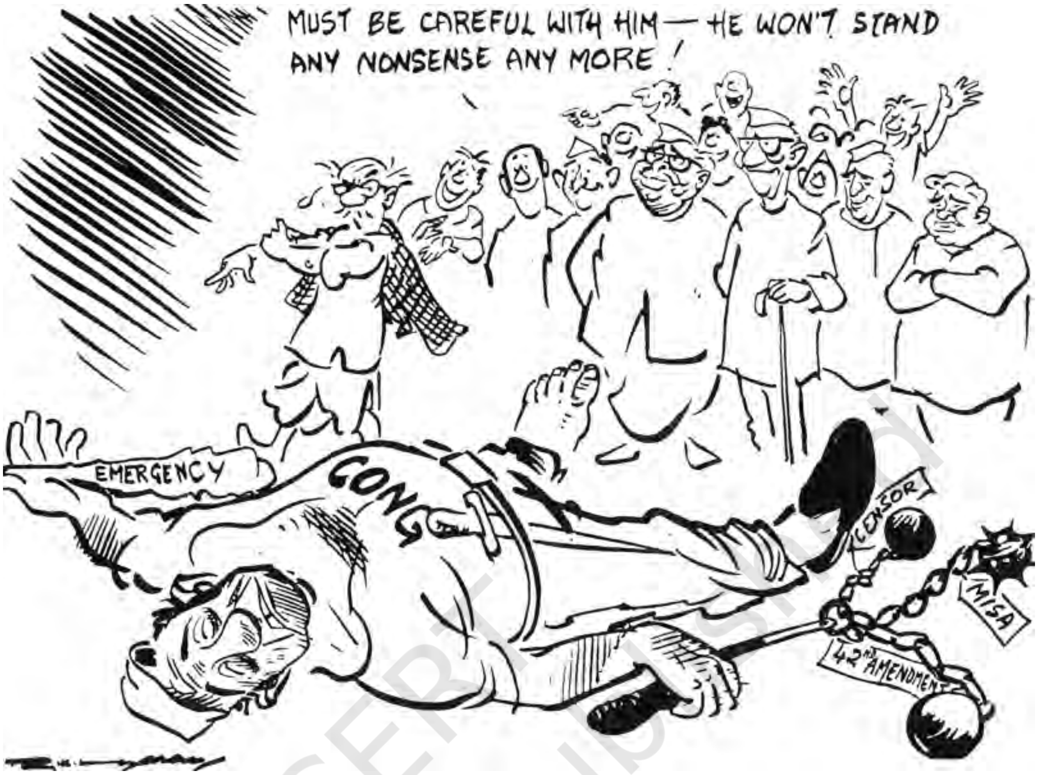
The most valuable and lasting lesson of the Emergency was learnt as soon as the Emergency was over and the Lok Sabha elections were announced. The 1977 elections turned into a referendum on the experience of the Emergency, at least in north India where the impact of the Emergency was felt most strongly. The opposition fought the election on the slogan of 'save democracy'. The people's verdict was decisively against the Emergency. The lesson was clear and has been reiterated in many state level elections thereafter–governments that are perceived to be anti-democratic are severely punished by the voters. In this sense the experience of 1975–77 ended up strengthening the foundations of democracy in India.

भारत
INDIA
100
मोरारजी देसाई MORARJI DESAI
1996

Morarji Desai (1896-1995): Freedom fighter; a Gandhian leader; Proponenet of Khadi, naturopathy and prohibition; Chief Minister of Bombay State; Deputy Prime Minister (1967-1969); joined Congress (O) after the split in the party; Prime Minister from 1977 to 1979—first Prime Minister belonging to a non-Congress party.

Lok Sabha Elections, 1977

In January 1977, after eighteen months of Emergency, the government decided to hold elections. Accordingly, all the leaders and activists were released from jails. Elections were held in March 1977. This left the opposition with very little time, but political developments took place very rapidly. The major opposition parties had already been coming closer in the pre-Emergency period. Now they came together on the eve of the elections and formed a new party, known as the Janata Party. The new party accepted the leadership of Jayaprakash Narayan. Some leaders of the Congress who were opposed to the Emergency also joined this new party.


MUST BE CAREFUL WITH HIM — HE WON'T STAND ANY NONSENSE ANY MORE !
EMERGENCY
CONG
CENSOR
MISA
42nd AMENDMENT

Credit: R. K. Laxman in The Times of India 29 March 1977

A cartoonist's reading of who won and what was defeated in the 1977 election. Those standing with the common man include Jagjivan Ram, Morarji Desai, Charan Singh and Atal Behari Vajpayee.

Some other Congress leaders also came out and formed a separate party under the leadership of Jagjivan Ram. This party named as Congress for Democracy, later merged with the Janata Party.

The Janata Party made this election into a referendum on the Emergency. Its campaign was focused on the non-democratic character of the rule and on the various excesses that took place during this period. In the backdrop of arrests of thousands of persons and the censorship of the Press, the public opinion was against the Congress. Jayaprakash Narayan became the popular symbol of restoration of democracy. The formation of the Janata Party also ensured that non-Congress votes would not be divided. It was evident that the going was tough for the Congress.

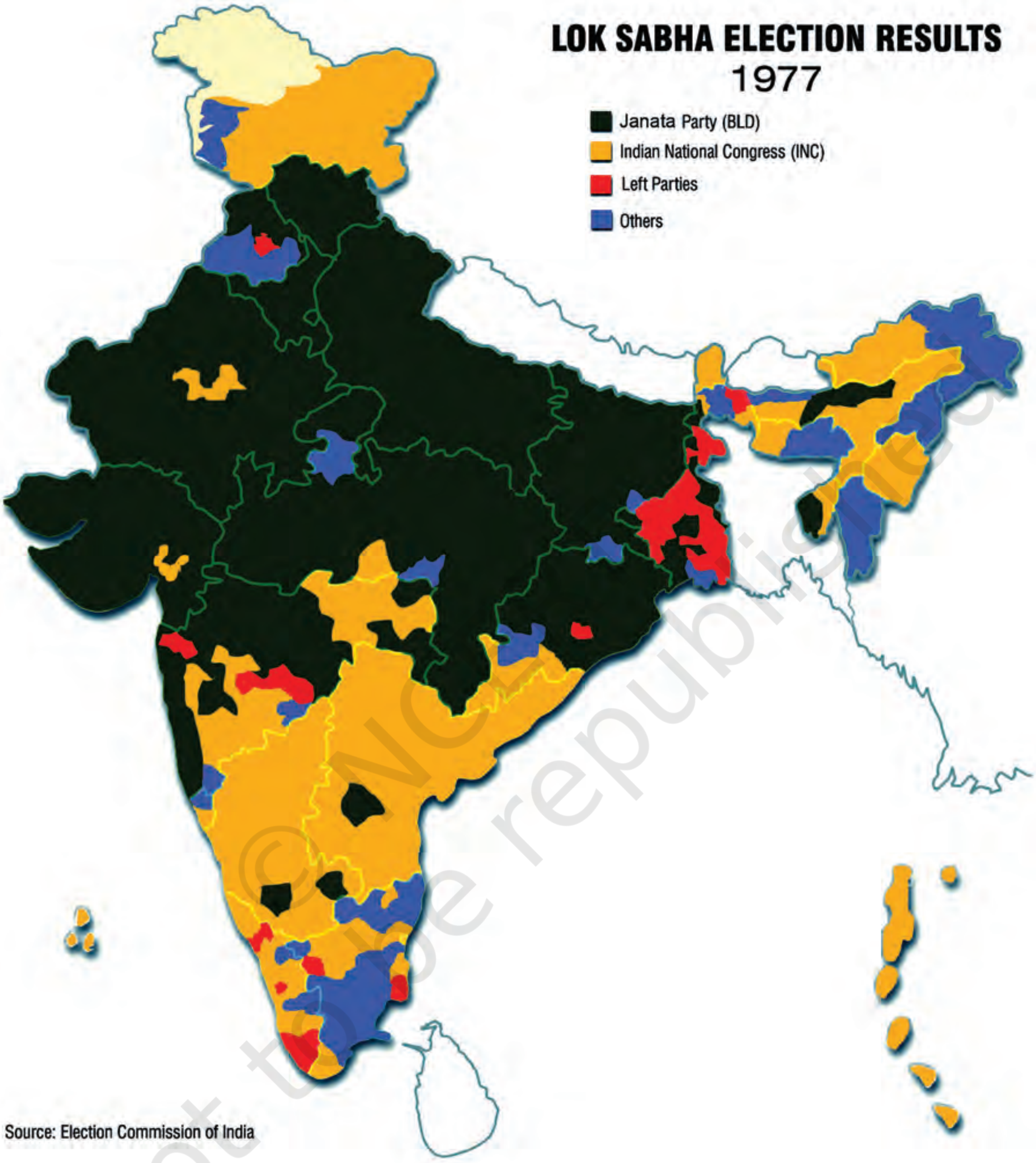
Yet the final results took everyone by surprise. For the first time since Independence, the Congress party was defeated in the Lok Sabha elections. The Congress could win only 154 seats in the Lok Sabha. Its share of popular votes fell to less than 35 per cent. The Janata Party and its allies won 330 out of the 542 seats in the Lok Sabha; Janata Party itself won 295 seats and thus enjoyed a clear majority. In north India, it was a massive electoral wave against the Congress. The Congress lost in every constituency in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Haryana and the Punjab and could win only one seat each in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. Indira Gandhi was defeated from Rae Bareli, as was her son Sanjay Gandhi from Amethi.

But if you look at the map showing the result of this election, you will notice that Congress did not lose elections all over the country. It retained many seats in Maharashtra, Gujarat and Orissa and virtually swept through the southern States. There are many reasons for this. To begin with, the impact of Emergency was not felt equally in all the States. The forced relocation and displacements, the forced sterilisations, were mostly concentrated in the northern States. But more importantly, north India had experienced some long term changes in the nature of political competition. The middle castes from north India were beginning to move away from the Congress and the Janata party became a platform for many of these sections to come together. In this sense, the elections of 1977 were not merely about the Emergency.

Janata Government

The Janata Party government that came to power after the 1977 elections was far from cohesive. After the election, there was stiff competition among three leaders for the post of Prime Minister – Morarji Desai, who was the rival to Indira Gandhi ever since 1966-67; Charan Singh, leader of the Bharatiya Lok Dal and a farmers' leader from UP; and Jagjivan Ram, who had vast experience as a senior minister in the Congress governments. Eventually Morarji Desai became the Prime Minister but that did not bring the power struggle within the party to an end.

Oath taking by the first non-congress government at the centre in 1977. In the picture are Jayaprakash Narayan, J. B. Kriplani, Morarji Desai and Atal Behari Vajpayee.


LOK SABHA ELECTION RESULTS
1977
Janata Party (BLD)
Indian National Congress (INC)
Left Parties
Others

Source: Election Commission of India

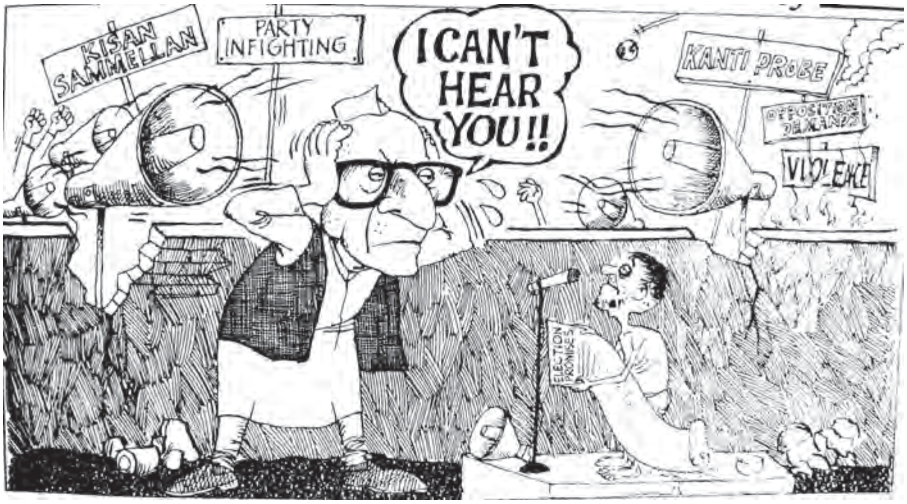
not to be republished © NCERT

Note: This illustration is not a map drawn to scale and should not be taken to be an authentic depiction of India's external boundaries.

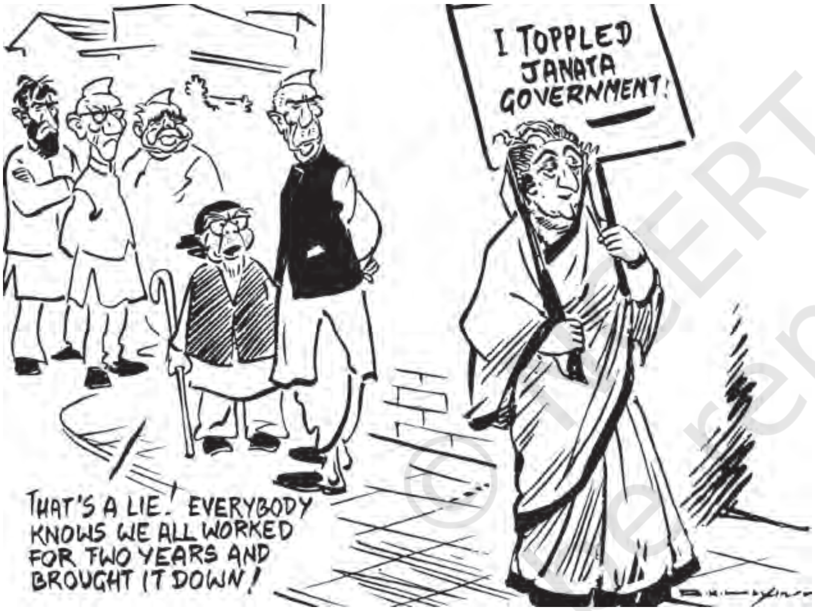
How can we talk about a mandate or verdict in 1977 when the north and the south voted so differently?

Read this map and identify the states where
- Congress lost,
- Congress lost very badly and
- those states where Congress and its allies nearly swept the polls.

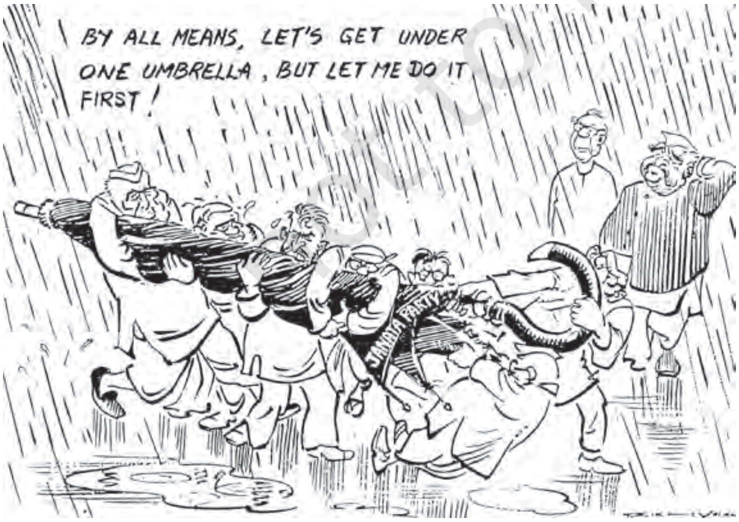
Which are the constituencies in north India that the Congress managed to win?


KISAN SAMMELLAN
PARTY INFIGHTING
I CAN'T HEAR YOU!!
KANTI PROBE
OPPOSITION DEMANDS
VIOLENCE
ELECTION PROMISES

Credit: Atanu Roy/India Today

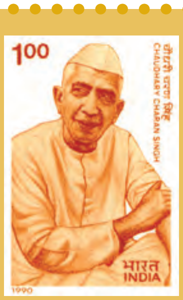

I TOPPLED JANATA GOVERNMENT!
THAT'S A LIE! EVERYBODY KNOWS WE ALL WORKED FOR TWO YEARS AND BROUGHT IT DOWN!

Credit: R. K. Laxman in The Times of India, 13 November 1979


BY ALL MEANS, LET'S GET UNDER ONE UMBRELLA, BUT LET ME DO IT FIRST!
JANATA PARTY

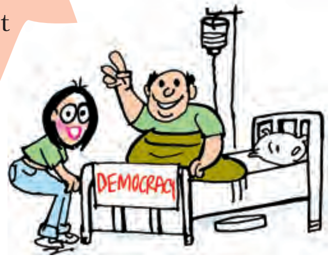
Credit: R. K. Laxman in the Times of India

Janata Party's faction fight inspired many cartoons at that time. Here is a selection.


1.00
चौधरी चरण सिंह
CHAUDHARY CHARAN SINGH
भारत
INDIA
1990

Chaudhary Charan Singh (1902-1987): Prime Minister of India between July1979 - January 1980; freedom fighter; active in the politics of Uttar Pradesh; proponent of rural and agricultural development; left Congress party and founded Bharatiya Kranti Dal in 1967; twice Chief Minister of U.P.; later he was one of the founders of the Janata Party in 1977 and became Deputy Prime Minister and Home Minister (1977-79); founder of Lok Dal.

I got it! Emergency was like a vaccination against dictatorship. It was painful and caused fever, but strengthened the resistance of our democracy.



The opposition to Emergency could keep the Janata Party together only for a while. Its critics felt that the Janata Party lacked direction, leadership, and a common programme. The Janata Party government could not bring about a fundamental change in policies from those pursued by the Congress. The Janata Party split and the government which was led by Morarji Desai lost its majority in less than 28 months. Another government headed by Charan Singh was formed on the assurance of the support of the Congress party. But the Congress party later decided to withdraw its support with the result that the Charan Singh government could remain in power for just about 4 months. Fresh Lok Sabha elections were held in January 1980 in which the Janata Party suffered a comprehensive defeat, especially in north India where it had swept the polls in 1977. Congress party led by Indira Gandhi nearly repeated its great victory in 1971. It won 353 seats and came back to power. The experience of 1977–79 taught another lesson in democratic politics: governments that are seen to be unstable and quarrelsome are severely punished by the voters.

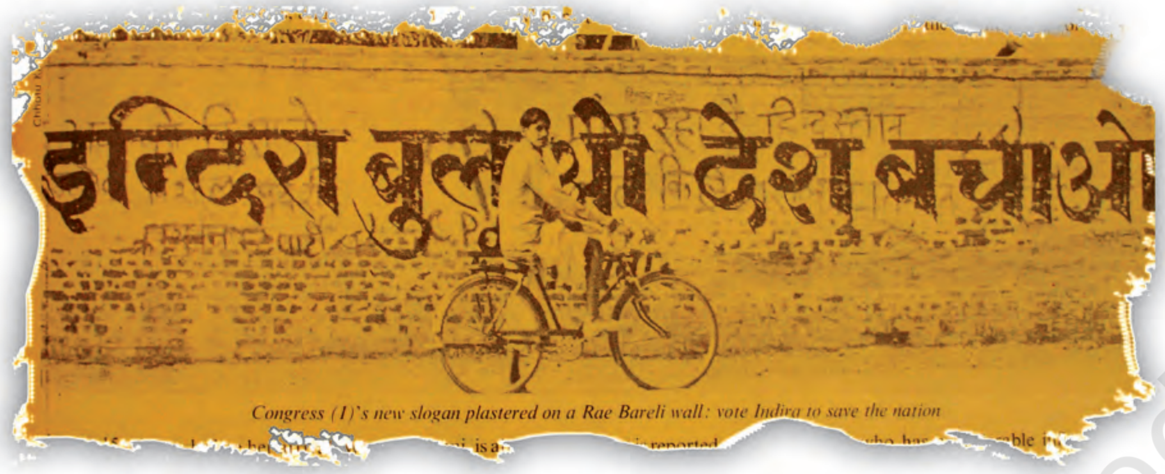
भारत INDIA
100
बाबू जगजीवन राम
BABU JAGJIVAN RAM
1991

Jagjivan Ram (1908–1986): Freedom fighter and Congress leader from Bihar; Deputy Prime Minister of India (1977-79); member of Constituent Assembly; also a Member of Parliament since 1952 till his death; Labour Minister in the first ministry of free India; held various other ministries from 1952 to 1977; a scholar and astute administrator.

Legacy

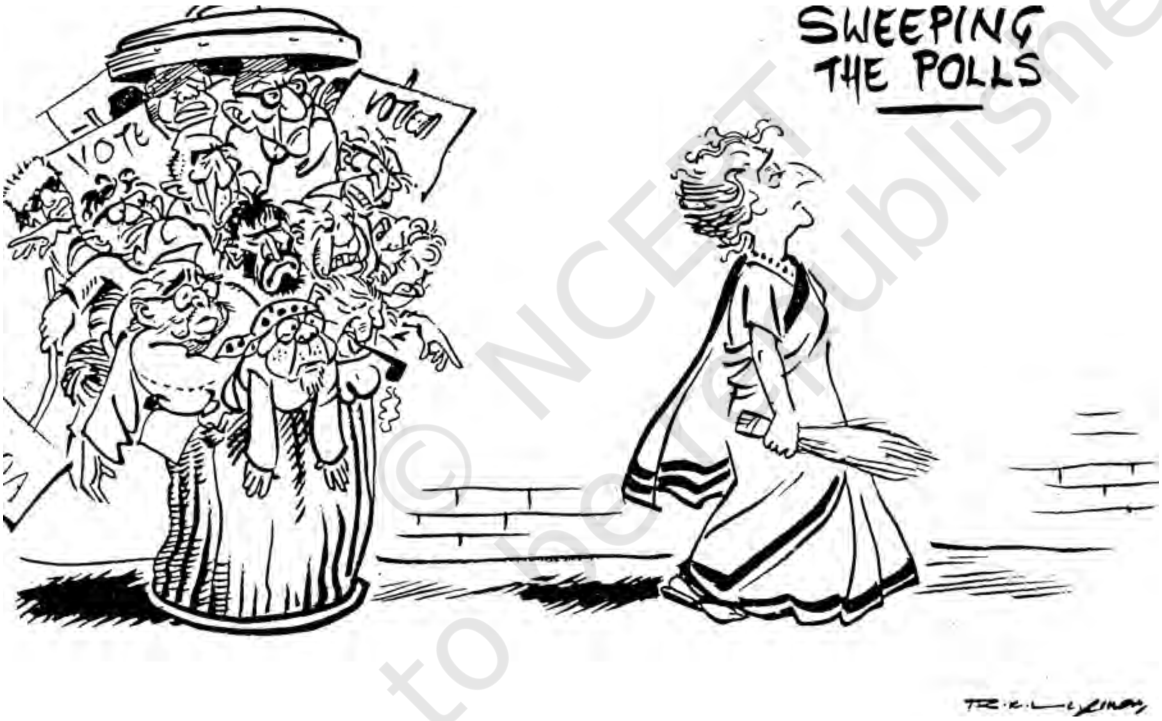
But was it only a case of return of Indira Gandhi? Between the elections of 1977 and 1980 the party system had changed dramatically. Since 1969, the Congress party had starting shedding its character as an umbrella party which accommodated leaders and workers of different ideological dispensations and view points. The Congress party now identified itself with a particular ideology, claiming to be the only socialist and pro-poor party. Thus with the early nineteen seventies, the Congress's political success depended on attracting people on the basis of sharp social and ideological divisions and the appeal of one leader, Indira Gandhi. With the change in the nature of the Congress party, other opposition parties relied more and more on what is known in Indian politics as 'non-Congressism'. They also realised the need to avoid a division of non-Congress votes in the election. This factor played a major role in the elections of 1977.

In an indirect manner the issue of welfare of the backward castes also began to dominate politics since 1977. As we saw above, the results of 1977 elections were at least partly due to a shift among the backward castes of north India. Following the Lok Sabha elections, many states also held Assembly elections in 1977. Again, the northern States elected non-Congress governments in which the leaders of the backward castes played an important role. The issue of reservations for 'other backward classes' became very controversial in Bihar and following this, the Mandal Commission was appointed by the Janata Party



Congress (I)'s new slogan plastered on a Rae Bareli wall: vote Indira to save the nation

Credit: India Today



This cartoon appeared after the election results of 1980.

Credit: R. K. Laxman in the Times of India

government at the centre. You will read more about this and about the role of the politics of backward castes, in the last chapter. The elections after the Emergency set off the process of this change in the party system.

The Emergency and the period around it can be described as a period of constitutional crisis because it had its origins in the constitutional battle over the jurisdiction of the Parliament and the judiciary. On the other hand, it was also a period of political crisis. The party in power had absolute majority and yet, its leadership decided to suspend the democratic process. The makers of India's Constitution trusted that all political parties would basically abide by the democratic norm. Even during the Emergency, when the government would use extraordinary powers, its use would be within the norms of the rule of law. This expectation led to the wide and open ended powers given to the government in times of Emergency. These were abused during the Emergency. This political crisis was more serious than the constitutional crisis.

Another critical issue that emerged during this period was the role and extent of mass protests in a parliamentary democracy. There was clearly a tension between institution-based democracy and democracy based on spontaneous popular participation. This tension may be attributed to the inability of the party system to incorporate the aspirations of the people. In the next chapter we shall study some of the manifestations of this tension, in particular, debates around regional identity.

Let's watch a Film

HAZARON KHWAISHEIN AISI

HAZAARON
KHWAISHEIN AISI
EROS

Siddharth, Vikram and Geeta are three spirited and socially engaged students. Graduating from Delhi, they follow different paths. While Siddharth is a strong supporter of the revolutionary ideology of social transformation, Vikram is in favour of achieving success in life, whatever the cost. The film narrates the story of their journeys towards their goals and the underlying disappointments.

The film is set in the backdrop of the seventies. The young characters are products of the expectations and idealism of that period. Siddharth is not successful in his ambition to stage a revolution, but is so involved in the plight of the poor that he begins valuing their uplift more than revolution. On the other hand, Vikram becomes a typical political fixer but is constantly ill at ease.

Year: 2005
Director: Sudhir Mishra
Screenplay: Sudhir Mishra
Ruchi Narain
Shivkumar Subramaniam
Cast: Kay Kay Menon, Shiney
Ahuja, Chitrangada Singh

EXERCISES

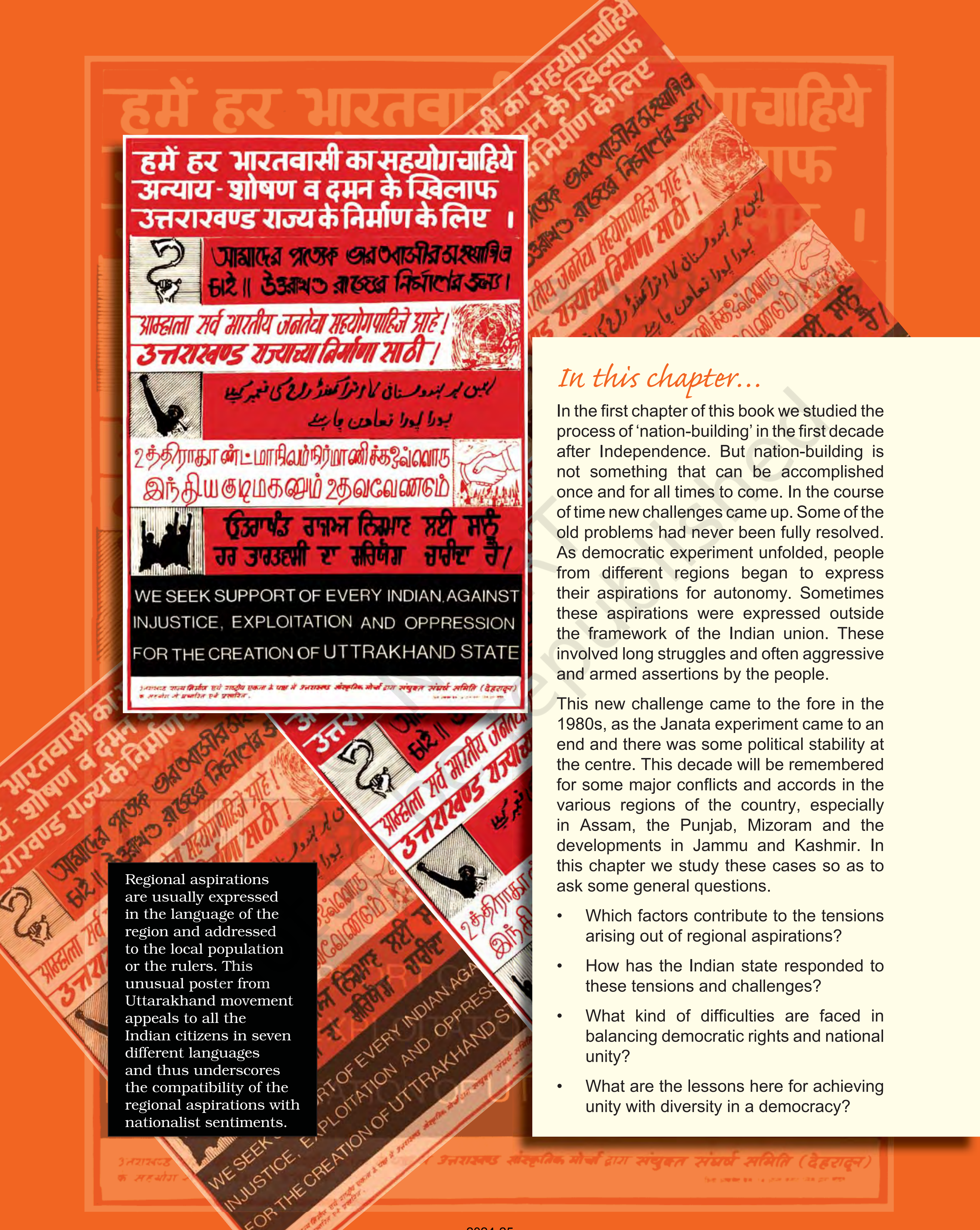
1. State whether the following statements regarding the Emergency are correct or incorrect.
   - (a) It was declared in 1975 by Indira Gandhi.
   - (b) It led to the suspension of all fundamental rights.
   - (c) It was proclaimed due to the deteriorating economic conditions.
   - (d) Many Opposition leaders were arrested during the emergency.
   - (e) CPI supported the proclamation of the Emergency.
2. Find the odd one out in the context of proclamation of Emergency
   - (a) The call for 'Total Revolution.
   - (b) The Railway Strike of 1974
   - (c) The Naxalite Movement
   - (d) The Allahbad High Court verdict
   - (e) The findings of the Shah Commission Report
3. Match the following

(a) Total Revolution	i. Indira Gandhi
(b) Garibi hatao	ii. Jayaprakash Narayan
(c) Students' Protest	iii. Bihar Movement
(d) Railway Strike	iv. George Fernandes

4. What were the reasons which led to the mid-term elections in 1980?
5. The Shah Commission was appointed in 1977 by the Janata Party Government. Why was it appointed and what were its findings?
6. What reasons did the Government give for declaring a National Emergency in 1975?
7. The 1977 elections for the first time saw the Opposition coming into power at the Centre. What would you consider as the reasons for this development?
8. Discuss the effects of Emergency on the following aspects of our polity.
   - Effects on civil liberties for citizens.
   - Impact on relationship between the Executive and Judiciary
   - Functioning of Mass Media
   - Working of the Police and Bureaucracy.
9. In what way did the imposition of Emergency affect the party system in India? Elaborate your answer with examples.
10. Read the passage and answer the questions below:

    Indian democracy was never so close to a two-party system as it was during the 1977 elections. However, the next few years saw a complete change. Soon after its defeat, the Indian National Congress split into two groups……….. … … …The Janata Party also went through major convulsions…..David Butler, Ashok Lahiri and Prannoy Roy. — PARTHA CHATTERJEE

    - (a) What made the party system in India look like a two-party system in 1977?
    - (b) Many more than two parties existed in 1977. Why then are the authors describing this period as close to a two-party system?
    - (c) What caused splits in Congress and the Janata parties?


हमें हर भारतवासी का सहयोग चाहिये
अन्याय - शोषण व दमन के खिलाफ
उत्तराखण्ड राज्य के निर्माण के लिए ।
আমাদের প্রত্যেক ভারতবাসীর সহযোগিতা চাই॥ উত্তরাখণ্ড রাজ্যের নির্মাণের জন্য।
आम्हाला सर्व भारतीय जनतेचा सहयोग पाहिजे आहे!
उत्तराखण्ड राज्याच्या निर्माणा साठी!
ہمیں ہر ہندوستانی کا اترا کھنڈ راج کی تعمیر کیلئے
پورا پورا تعاون چاہیے
உத்திராகாண்ட் மாநிலம் நிர்மாணிக்க ஒவ்வொரு
இந்திய குடிமகனும் உதவ வேண்டும்
ਉਤਰਾਖੰਡ ਰਾਜ ਨਿਰਮਾਣ ਲਈ ਸਾਨੂੰ
ਹਰ ਭਾਰਤਵਾਸੀ ਦਾ ਸਹਿਯੋਗ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਹੈ/
WE SEEK SUPPORT OF EVERY INDIAN, AGAINST
INJUSTICE, EXPLOITATION AND OPPRESSION
FOR THE CREATION OF UTTRAKHAND STATE

Regional aspirations are usually expressed in the language of the region and addressed to the local population or the rulers. This unusual poster from Uttarakhand movement appeals to all the Indian citizens in seven different languages and thus underscores the compatibility of the regional aspirations with nationalist sentiments.

In this chapter...

In the first chapter of this book we studied the process of 'nation-building' in the first decade after Independence. But nation-building is not something that can be accomplished once and for all times to come. In the course of time new challenges came up. Some of the old problems had never been fully resolved. As democratic experiment unfolded, people from different regions began to express their aspirations for autonomy. Sometimes these aspirations were expressed outside the framework of the Indian union. These involved long struggles and often aggressive and armed assertions by the people.

This new challenge came to the fore in the 1980s, as the Janata experiment came to an end and there was some political stability at the centre. This decade will be remembered for some major conflicts and accords in the various regions of the country, especially in Assam, the Punjab, Mizoram and the developments in Jammu and Kashmir. In this chapter we study these cases so as to ask some general questions.

- Which factors contribute to the tensions arising out of regional aspirations?
- How has the Indian state responded to these tensions and challenges?
- What kind of difficulties are faced in balancing democratic rights and national unity?
- What are the lessons here for achieving unity with diversity in a democracy?

CHAPTER 7

REGIONAL ASPIRATIONS

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Region and the Nation

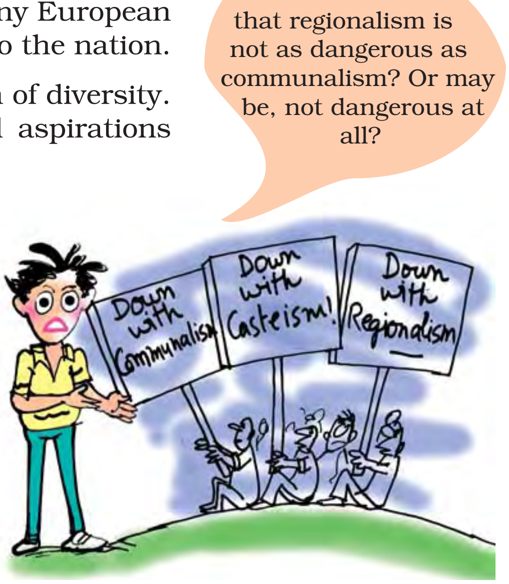
1980s may be seen as a period of rising regional aspirations for autonomy, often outside the framework of the Indian Union. These movements frequently involved armed assertions by the people, their repression by the government, and a collapse of the political and electoral processes. It is also not surprising that most of these struggles were long drawn and concluded in negotiated settlements or accords between the central government and the groups leading the movement for autonomy. The accords were reached after a process of dialogue that aimed to settle contentious issues within the constitutional framework. Yet the journey to the accord was always tumultuous and often violent.

Indian approach

In studying the Indian Constitution and the process of nation-building we have repeatedly come across one basic principle of the Indian approach to diversity – the Indian nation shall not deny the rights of different regions and linguistic groups to retain their own culture. We decided to live a united social life without losing the distinctiveness of the numerous cultures that constituted it. Indian nationalism sought to balance the principles of unity and diversity. The nation would not mean the negation of the region. In this sense the Indian approach was very different from the one adopted in many European countries where they saw cultural diversity as a threat to the nation.

India adopted a democratic approach to the question of diversity. Democracy allows the political expressions of regional aspirations and does not look upon them as anti-national. Besides, democratic politics allows parties and groups to address the people on the basis of their regional identity, aspiration and specific regional problems. Thus, in the course of democratic politics, regional aspirations get strengthened. At the same time, democratic politics also means that regional issues and problems will receive adequate attention and accommodation in the policy making process.

Such an arrangement may sometimes lead to tensions and problems. Sometimes, the concern for national unity may overshadow the regional needs

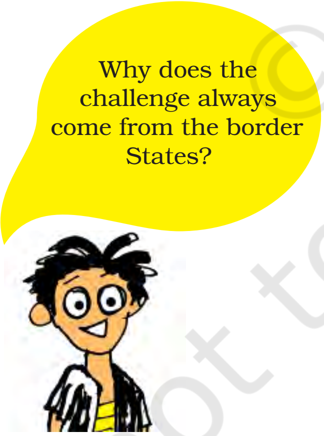

Does it mean that regionalism is not as dangerous as communalism? Or may be, not dangerous at all?
Down with Communalism
Down with Casteism!
Down with Regionalism

and aspirations. At other times a concern for region alone may blind us to the larger needs of the nation. Therefore, political conflicts over issues of power of the regions, their rights and their separate existence are common to nations that want to respect diversity while trying to forge and retain unity.

Areas of tension

In the first chapter you have seen how immediately after Independence our nation had to cope with many difficult issues like Partition, displacement, integration of Princely States, reorganisation of states and so on. Many observers, both within the country and from outside, had predicted that India as one unified country cannot last long. Soon after Independence, the issue of Jammu and Kashmir came up. It was not only a conflict between India and Pakistan. More than that, it was a question of the political aspirations of the people of Kashmir valley. Similarly, in some parts of the north-east, there was no consensus about being a part of India. First Nagaland and then Mizoram witnessed strong movements demanding separation from India. In the south, some groups from the Dravid movement briefly toyed with the idea of a separate country.

These events were followed by mass agitations in many parts for the formation of linguistic States. Today's Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra, and Gujarat were among the regions affected by these agitations. In some parts of southern India, particularly Tamil Nadu, there were protests against making Hindi the official national language of the country. In the north, there were strong pro-Hindi agitations demanding that Hindi be made the official language immediately. From the late 1950s, people speaking the Punjabi language started agitating for a separate State for themselves. This demand was finally accepted and the States of Punjab and Haryana were created in 1966. Later, the States of Chhattisgarh, Uttarakhand and Jharkhand were created. Thus the challenge of diversity was met by redrawing the internal boundaries of the country.

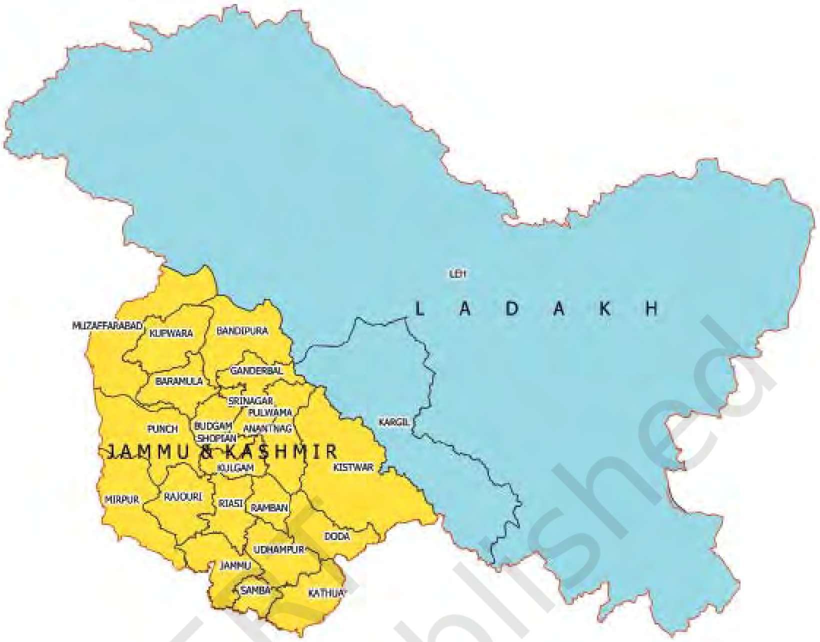

Why does the challenge always come from the border States?

Yet this did not lead to resolution of all problems and for all times. In some regions, like Kashmir and Nagaland, the challenge was so complex that it could not be resolved in the first phase of nation-building. Besides, new challenges came up in States like Punjab, Assam and Mizoram. Let us study these cases in some detail. In this process let us also go back to some of the earlier instances of difficulties of nation building. The successes and failures in these cases are instructive not merely for a study of our past, but also for an understanding of India's future.

Jammu and Kashmir

As you have studied in the previous year, Jammu and Kashmir had a special status under Article 370 of the Indian Constitution. However, in spite of it, Jammu and Kashmir experienced violence, cross border terrorism and political instability with internal and external ramifications. It also resulted in the loss of many lives including that of innocent civilians, security personnel and militants. Besides, there was also a large scale displacement of Kashmiri Pandits from the Kashmir valley.

Union Territories of Jammu & Kashmir and Ladakh



Source: https://pib.gov.in

Jammu and Kashmir comprises three social and political regions— Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh. The Jammu region is a mix of foothills and plains. It is predominantly inhabited by the Hindus. Muslims, Sikhs and people of other denominations also reside in this region. The Kashmir region mainly comprises of the Kashmir valley. It is inhabited mostly by Kashmiri Muslims with the remaining being Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists and others. The Ladakh region is mainly mountainous. It has very little population which is almost equally divided between Buddhists and Muslims.

Roots of the Problem

Before 1947, Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) was a Princely State. Its ruler, Maharaja Hari Singh did not want to merge either with India or Pakistan but to have an independent status for his state. The Pakistani leaders thought that Kashmir region 'belonged' to Pakistan, since the majority population of the State was Muslim. But this is not how the people of the state themselves saw it— they thought of themselves as Kashmiris above all. This issue of regional aspiration is known as Kashmiriyat. The popular movement in the State, led by Sheikh Abdullah of the National Conference, wanted to get rid of the Maharaja, but was against joining Pakistan. The National Conference was a secular organisation and had a long association with the Congress. Sheikh Abdullah was a personal friend of some of the leading nationalist leaders including Nehru.

25
भारत
INDIA
ई.वे.रामसामी E.V.RAMASAMI 1879-1973
1978

E.V. Ramasami Naicker (1879-1973): Known as Periyar (the respected); strong supporter of atheism; famous for his anti-caste struggle and rediscovery of Dravidian identity; initially a worker of the Congress party; started the self-respect movement (1925); led the anti-Brahmin movement; worked for the Justice party and later founded Dravidar Kazhagam; opposed to Hindi and domination of north India; propounded the thesis that north Indians and Brahmins are Aryans.

Dravidian movement

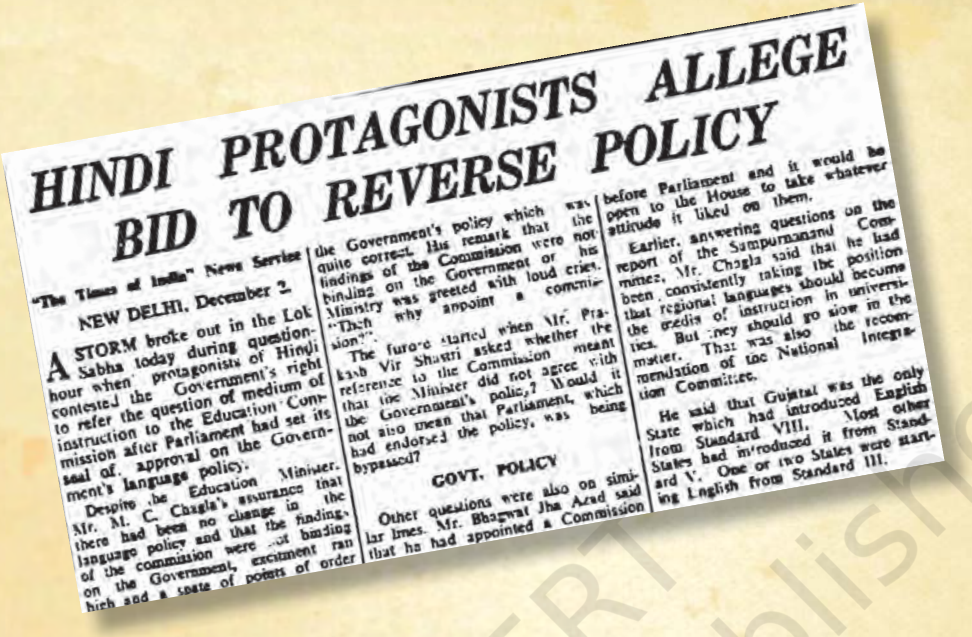
'*Vadakku Vaazhgiradhu; Therkku Thaeikiradhu*' [The north thrives even as the south decays]. This popular slogan sums up the dominant sentiments of one of India's most effective regional movements, the Dravidian movement, at one point of time. This was one of the first regional movements in Indian politics. Though some sections of this movement had ambitions of creating a Dravida nation, the movement did not take to arms. It used democratic means like public debates and the electoral platform to achieve its ends. This strategy paid off as the movement acquired political power in the State and also became influential at the national level.

The Dravidian movement led to the formation of Dravidar Kazhagam [DK] under the leadership of Tamil social reformer E.V. Ramasami 'Periyar'. The organisation strongly opposed the Brahmins' dominance and affirmed regional pride against the political, economic and cultural domination of the North. Initially, the Dravidian movement spoke in terms of the whole of south India; however lack of support from other States limited the movement to Tamil Nadu.

The DK split and the political legacy of the movement was transferred to Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK). The DMK made its entry into politics with a three pronged agitation in 1953-54. First, it demanded the restoration of the original name of Kallakudi railway station which had been renamed Dalmiapuram, after an industrial house from the North. This demand brought out its opposition to the North Indian economic and cultural symbols. The second agitation was for

Anti-Hindi agitation in Tamil Nadu, 1965

Credit: The Hindu



HINDI PROTAGONISTS ALLEGE BID TO REVERSE POLICY

"The Times of India" News Service

NEW DELHI, December 2.

A STORM broke out in the Lok Sabha today during question-hour when protagonists of Hindi contested the Government's right to refer the question of medium of instruction to the Education Commission after Parliament had set its seal of approval on the Government's language policy.

Despite the Education Minister, Mr. M. C. Chagla's assurance that there had been no change in the language policy and that the findings of the commission were not binding on the Government, excitement ran high and a spate of points of order

the Government's policy which was quite correct. His remark that the findings of the Commission were not binding on the Government or his Ministry was greeted with loud cries. "Then why appoint a commission?".

The furore started when Mr. Prakash Vir Shastri asked whether the reference to the Commission meant that the Minister did not agree with the Government's policy? Would it not also mean that Parliament, which had endorsed the policy, was being bypassed?

GOVT. POLICY

Other questions were also on similar lines. Mr. Bhagwat Jha Azad said that he had appointed a Commission

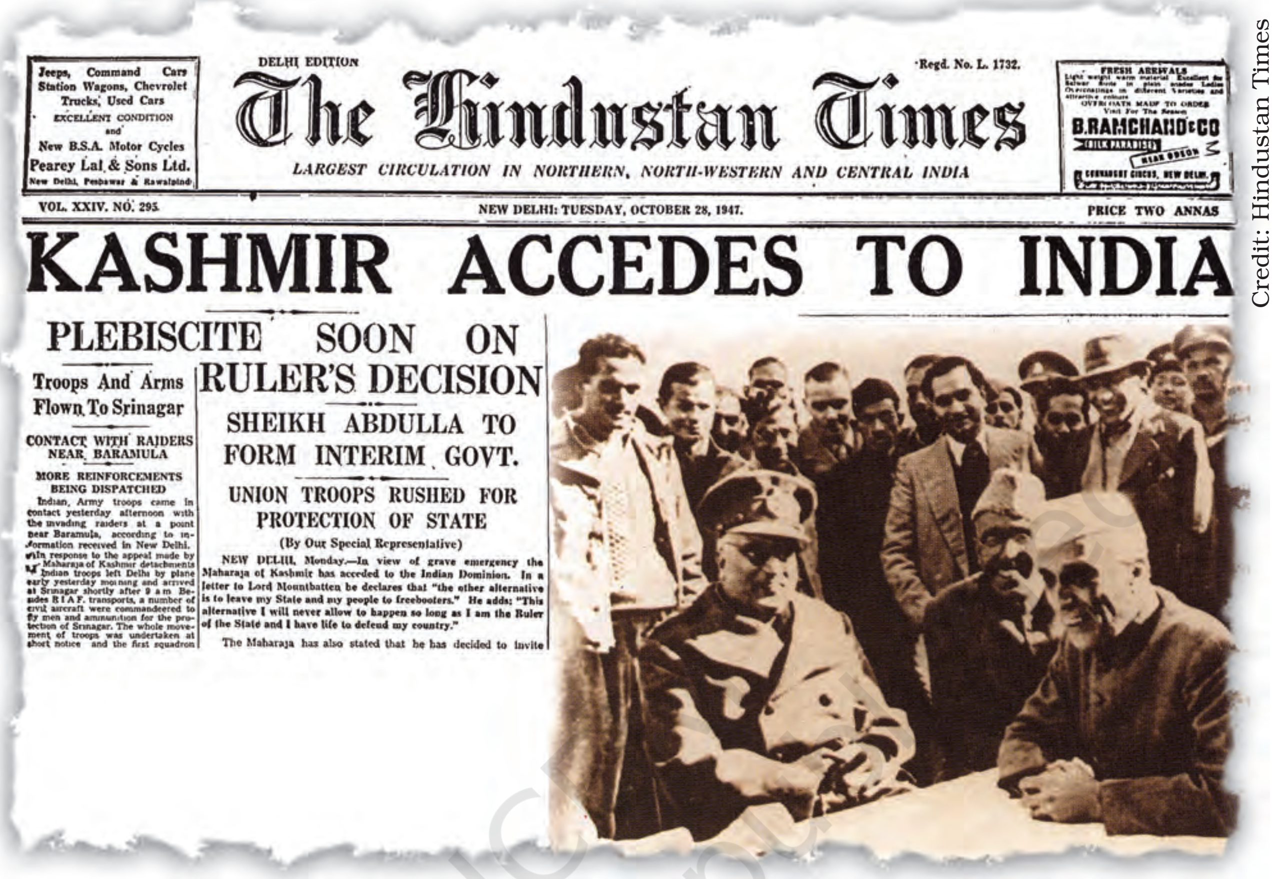
before Parliament and it would be open to the House to take whatever attitude it liked on them.

Earlier, answering questions on the report of the Sampurnanand Committee, Mr. Chagla said that he had been consistently taking the position that regional languages should become the media of instruction in universities. But they should go slow in the matter. That was also the recommendation of the National Integration Committee.

He said that Gujarat was the only State which had introduced English from Standard VIII. Most other States had introduced it from Standard V. One or two States were starting English from Standard III.

giving Tamil cultural history greater importance in school curricula. The third agitation was against the craft education scheme of the State government, which it alleged was linked to the Brahmanical social outlook. It also agitated against making Hindi the country's official language. The success of the anti-Hindi agitation of 1965 added to the DMK's popularity.

Sustained political agitations brought the DMK to power in the Assembly elections of 1967. Since then, the Dravidian parties have dominated the politics of Tamil Nadu. Though the DMK split after the death of its leader, C. Annadurai, the influence of Dravidian parties in Tamil politics actually increased. After the split there were two parties – the DMK and the All India Anna DMK (AIADMK) – that claimed Dravidian legacy. Both these parties have dominated politics in Tamil Nadu for the last four decades. Since 1996, one of these parties has been a part of the ruling coalition at the Centre. In the 1990s, many other parties have emerged. These include Marumalarchchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (MDMK), Pattali Makkal Katchi (PMK) and Desiya Murpokku Dravidar Kazhagam (DMDK). All these parties have kept alive the issue of regional pride in the politics of Tamil Nadu. Initially seen as a threat to Indian nationalism, regional politics in Tamil Nadu is a good example of the compatibility of regionalism and nationalism.



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VOL. XXIV. NO. 295. NEW DELHI: TUESDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1947. PRICE TWO ANNAS

KASHMIR ACCEDES TO INDIA

PLEBISCITE SOON ON RULER'S DECISION

Troops And Arms Flown To Srinagar

CONTACT WITH RAIDERS NEAR BARAMULA

MORE REINFORCEMENTS BEING DISPATCHED

Indian Army troops came in contact yesterday afternoon with the invading raiders at a point near Baramula, according to information received in New Delhi.

In response to the appeal made by Maharaja of Kashmir detachments of Indian troops left Delhi by plane early yesterday morning and arrived at Srinagar shortly after 9 a.m. Besides R.I.A.F. transports, a number of civil aircraft were commandeered to fly men and ammunition for the protection of Srinagar. The whole movement of troops was undertaken at short notice and the first squadron

SHEIKH ABDULLA TO FORM INTERIM GOVT.

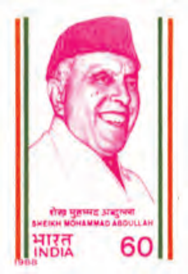
UNION TROOPS RUSHED FOR PROTECTION OF STATE

(By Our Special Representative)

NEW DELHI, Monday.—In view of grave emergency the Maharaja of Kashmir has acceded to the Indian Dominion. In a letter to Lord Mountbatten he declares that "the other alternative is to leave my State and my people to freebooters." He adds: "This alternative I will never allow to happen so long as I am the Ruler of the State and I have life to defend my country."

The Maharaja has also stated that he has decided to invite

Credit: Hindustan Times



Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah (1905-1982): Leader of Jammu and Kashmir; proponent of autonomy and secularism for Jammu and Kashmir; led the popular struggle against princely rule; opposed to Pakistan due to its non-secular character; leader of the National Conference; Prime Minister of J&K immediately after its accession with India in 1947; dismissed and jailed by Government of India from 1953 to 1964 and again from 1965 to 1968; became Chief Minister of the State after an agreement with Indira Gandhi in 1974.

In October 1947, Pakistan sent tribal infiltrators from its side to capture Kashmir. This forced the Maharaja to ask for Indian military help. India extended the military support and drove back the infiltrators from Kashmir valley, but only after the Maharaja had signed an 'Instrument of Accession' with the Government of India. However, as Pakistan continued to control a sizeable part of the state, the issue was taken to the United Nations Organisation, which in its resolution dated 21 April 1948 recommended a three step process to resolve the issue. Firstly, Pakistan had to withdraw its entire nationalities, who entered into Kashmir. Secondly, India needed to progressively reduce its forces so as to maintain law and order. Thirdly, a plebiscite was to be conducted in a free and impartial manner. However, no progress could be achieved under this resolution. In the meanwhile, Sheikh Abdullah took over as the Prime Minister of the State of J&K in March 1948 while India agreed to grant it provisional autonomy under the Article 370. The head of the government in the State was then called Prime Minister.

External and internal disputes

Since then the politics of Jammu and Kashmir remained controversial and conflict-ridden both for external and internal reasons. Externally, Pakistan has always claimed that Kashmir valley should be part of Pakistan. As we noted above, Pakistan sponsored a tribal invasion of the State in 1947, as a consequence of which one part of the State came under Pakistani control. However, it is the Indian territory which is under illegal occupation of Pakistan called as Pakistan occupied Jammu and Kashmir (POJK). Ever since 1947, Kashmir has remained a major issue of conflict between India and Pakistan.

Internally, there is a dispute about the status of Kashmir within Indian union. You have studied about the special provisions under Articles 370 and 371 last year in *Indian Constitution at Work*. This special status had provoked two opposite reactions. There is a section of people outside of J&K that believed that the special status of the State conferred by Article 370 did not allow full integration of the State with India. This section felt that Article 370 be revoked and J&K be treated like any other state of India.

Another section, mostly Kashmiris, believe that the autonomy conferred by Article 370 is not enough. They had at least three major grievances. First, the promise that Accession would be referred to the people of the State after the situation created by tribal invasion was normalised, has not been fulfilled. This generated the demand for a plebiscite. Secondly, there was a feeling that the special federal status guaranteed by Article 370, had been eroded in practice. This had led to the demand for restoration of autonomy or 'Greater State Autonomy'. Thirdly, it was felt that democracy which is practiced in the rest of India has not been similarly institutionalised in the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Let's watch a Film

ROJA

MANIRATNAM'S
ROJA

Tamil film depicting the travails of Roja, a newly wed and doting wife when her husband, Rishi, is abducted by militants. Rishi is a cryptologist who is assigned duty in Kashmir to decode the enem's messages. As love blossoms between the husband and the wife, the husband is kidnapped. The kidnappers demand that their jailed leader, be set free in exchange of Rishi.

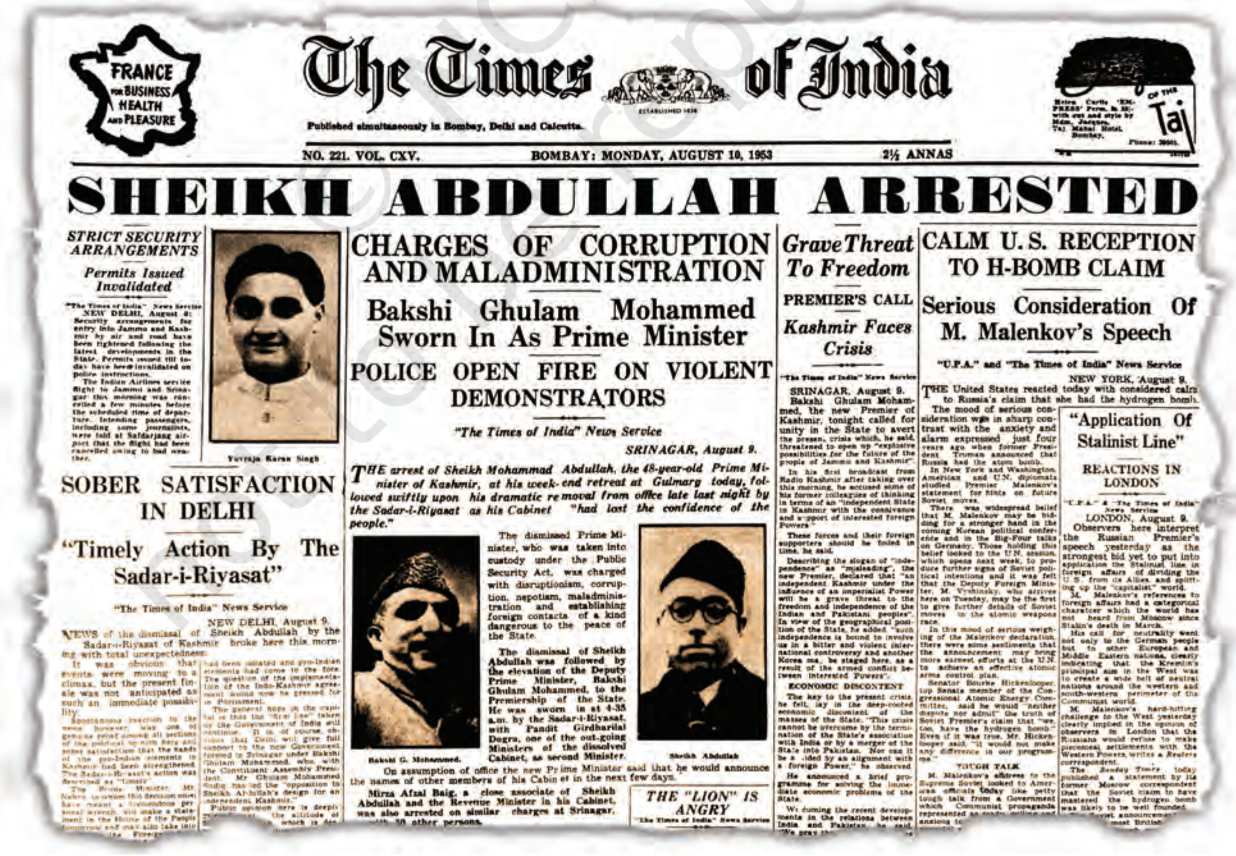
Roja's world is shattered and she is seen knocking at the doors of officials and politicians. Since the film has the background of Indo-Pakistan dispute, it made instant appeal. The film was dubbed in Hindi and many other Indian languages.

Year: 1992
Director: Maniratnam
Screenplay: Maniratnam
Cast (Hindi version): Madhu, Arvind Swamy, Pankaj Kapoor, Janagaraj

Politics since 1948

After taking over as the Prime Minister, Sheikh Abdullah initiated major land reforms and other policies which benefitted ordinary people. But there was a growing difference between him and the central government about his position on Kashmir's status. He was dismissed in 1953 and kept in detention for a number of years. The leadership that succeeded him did not enjoy as much popular support and was able to rule the State mainly due to the support of the Centre. There were serious allegations of malpractices and rigging in various elections.

During most of the period between 1953 and 1974, the Congress party exercised influence on the politics of the State. A truncated National Conference (minus Sheikh Abdullah) remained in power with the active support of Congress for some time but later it merged with the Congress. Thus, the Congress gained direct control over the government in the state and brought about the changes. In the meanwhile, there were several attempts to reach an agreement between Sheikh Abdullah and the Government of India. A change in the provision of the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir was made in 1965 by which the Prime Minister of the state was designated as Chief Minister of the state. Accordingly, Ghulam Mohammed Sadiq of the Indian National Congress became the first Chief Minister of the state.



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The Times of India

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NO. 221. VOL. CXV. BOMBAY: MONDAY, AUGUST 10, 1953 2½ ANNAS

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SHEIKH ABDULLAH ARRESTED

STRICT SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS

Permits Issued Invalidated

"The Times of India" News Service

NEW DELHI, August 9: Security arrangements for entry into Jammu and Kashmir by air and road have been tightened following the latest developments in the State. Permits issued till today have been invalidated on police instructions.

The Indian Airlines service flight to Jammu and Srinagar this morning was cancelled a few minutes before the scheduled time of departure. Intending passengers, including some journalists, were told at Safdarjang airport that the flight had been cancelled owing to bad weather.

Yuvraja Karan Singh

SOBER SATISFACTION IN DELHI

"Timely Action By The Sadar-i-Riyasat"

"The Times of India" News Service

NEW DELHI, August 9.

NEWS of the dismissal of Sheikh Abdullah by the Sadar-i-Riyasat of Kashmir broke here this morning with total unexpectedness.

It was obvious that events were moving to a climax, but the present finale was not anticipated as such an immediate possibility.

Spontaneous reaction to the news, however, was one of genuine relief among all sections of the political opinion here and sober satisfaction that the hands of the pro-Indian elements in Kashmir had been strengthened. The Sadar-i-Riyasat's action was described as "timely".

The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, to whom this decision must have meant a tremendous personal wrench, will make a statement in the House of the People tomorrow and may also take into [illegible] the Foreign [illegible]

had been isolated and pro-Indian elements had come to the fore. The question of the implementation of the Indo-Kashmir agreement would now be pressed for in Parliament.

The general hope in the capital is that the "firm line" taken by the Government of India will continue. It is, of course, obvious that Delhi will give full support to the new Government formed in Srinagar under Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed who, with the Constituent Assembly President, Mr Ghulam Mohammed Sadiq, has led the "opposition to Sheikh Abdullah's design for an independent Kashmir."

Public opinion here is deeply [illegible] the attitude of [illegible] which is [illegible]

CHARGES OF CORRUPTION AND MALADMINISTRATION

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed Sworn In As Prime Minister

POLICE OPEN FIRE ON VIOLENT DEMONSTRATORS

"The Times of India" News Service

SRINAGAR, August 9.

THE arrest of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, the 48-year-old Prime Minister of Kashmir, at his week-end retreat at Gulmarg today, followed swiftly upon his dramatic removal from office late last night by the Sadar-i-Riyasat as his Cabinet "had lost the confidence of the people."

Bakshi G. Mohammed.

The dismissed Prime Minister, who was taken into custody under the Public Security Act, was charged with disruptionism, corruption, nepotism, maladministration and establishing foreign contacts of a kind dangerous to the peace of the State.

The dismissal of Sheikh Abdullah was followed by the elevation of the Deputy Prime Minister, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, to the Premiership of the State. He was sworn in at 4-35 a.m. by the Sadar-i-Riyasat, with Pandit Girdharilal Dogra, one of the out-going Ministers of the dissolved Cabinet, as second Minister.

Sheikh Abdullah

On assumption of office the new Prime Minister said that he would announce the names of other members of his Cabinet in the next few days.

Mirza Afzal Baig, a close associate of Sheikh Abdullah and the Revenue Minister in his Cabinet, was also arrested on similar charges at Srinagar, with 30 other persons.

THE "LION" IS ANGRY

"The Times of India" News Service

Grave Threat To Freedom

PREMIER'S CALL

Kashmir Faces Crisis

"The Times of India" News Service

SRINAGAR, August 9. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, the new Premier of Kashmir, tonight called for unity in the State to avert the present crisis which, he said, threatened to open up "explosive possibilities for the future of the people of Jammu and Kashmir".

In his first broadcast from Radio Kashmir after taking over this morning, he accused some of his former colleagues of thinking in terms of an "independent State in Kashmir with the connivance and support of interested foreign Powers".

These forces and their foreign supporters should be foiled in time, he said.

Describing the slogan of "independence" as "misleading", the new Premier, declared that "an independent Kashmir under the influence of an imperialist Power will be a grave threat to the freedom and independence of the Indian and Pakistani peoples". In view of the geographical position of the State, he added, "such independence is bound to involve us in a bitter and violent international controversy and another Korea ma[y] be staged here, as a result of the armed conflict between interested Powers".

ECONOMIC DISCONTENT

The key to the present crisis, he felt, lay in the deep-rooted economic discontent of the masses of the State. "This crisis cannot be overcome by the termination of the State's association with India or by a merger of the State into Pakistan. Nor can it be a[vo]ided by an alignment with a foreign Power," he observed.

He announced a brief programme for solving the immediate economic problems of the State.

Welcoming the recent developments in the relations between India and Pakistan, he said, "We pray [illegible]

CALM U.S. RECEPTION TO H-BOMB CLAIM

Serious Consideration Of M. Malenkov's Speech

"U.P.A." and "The Times of India" News Service

NEW YORK, August 9.

THE United States reacted today with considered calm to Russia's claim that she had the hydrogen bomb.

The mood of serious consideration was in sharp contrast with the anxiety and alarm expressed just four years ago when former President Truman announced that Russia had the atom bomb.

In New York and Washington, American and U.N. diplomats studied Premier Malenkov's statement for hints on future Soviet moves.

There was widespread belief that M. Malenkov may be bidding for a stronger hand in the coming Korean political conference and in the Big-Four talks on Germany. Those holding this belief looked to the U.N. session, which opens next week, to produce further signs of Soviet political intentions and it was felt that the Deputy Foreign Minister, M. Vyshinsky, who arrives here on Tuesday, may be the first to give further details of Soviet moves in the atomic weapons race.

In this mood of serious weighing of the Malenkov declaration, there were some sentiments that the announcement may bring more earnest efforts at the U.N. to achieve an effective atomic arms control plan.

Senator Bourke Hickenlooper, top Senate member of the Congressional Atomic Energy Committee, said he would "neither dispute nor admit" the truth of Soviet Premier's claim that "we, too, have the hydrogen bomb." Even if it was true, Mr. Hickenlooper said, "it would not make any difference in our programme."

TOUGH TALK

M. Malenkov's address to the Supreme Soviet looked to American officials today like petty tough talk from a Government which Communist propaganda represented as ready, willing and anxious to [illegible]

"Application Of Stalinist Line"

REACTIONS IN LONDON

"U.P.A." & "The Times of India" News Service

LONDON, August 9. Observers here interpret the Russian Premier's speech yesterday as the strongest bid yet to put into application the Stalinist line in foreign affairs of dividing the U.S. from its Allies and splitting up the "capitalist" world.

M. Malenkov's references to foreign affairs had a categorical character which the world has not heard from Moscow since Stalin's death in March.

His call for neutrality went not only to the German people but to other European and Middle Eastern nations, clearly indicating that the Kremlin's principal aim in the West was to create a wide belt of neutral nations around the western and south-western perimeter of the Communist world.

M. Malenkov's hard-hitting challenge to the West yesterday clearly implied in the opinion of observers in London that the Russians would refuse to make piecemeal settlements with the Western Powers, writes a *Reuters* correspondent.

The *Sunday Times* today published a statement by its former Moscow correspondent that the Soviet claim to have mastered the hydrogen bomb was likely to be well founded. [illegible] Soviet announcement [illegible] most British [illegible]

Credit: The Times of India

In 1974 Indira Gandhi reached an agreement with Sheikh Abdullah and he became the Chief Minister of the State. He revived the National Conference which was elected with majority in the assembly elections held in 1977. Sheikh Abdullah died in 1982 and the leadership of the National Conference went to his son, Farooq Abdullah, who became the Chief Minister. But he soon was dismissed by the Governor and a breakaway faction of the National Conference came to power for a brief period.

The dismissal of Farooq Abdullah's government due to the intervention of the Centre generated a feeling of resentment in Kashmir. The confidence that Kashmiris had developed in the democratic processes after the accord between Indira Gandhi and Sheikh Abdullah, received a setback. The feeling that the Centre was intervening in politics of the State was further strengthened when the National Conference in 1986 agreed to have an electoral alliance with the Congress, the ruling party in the Centre.

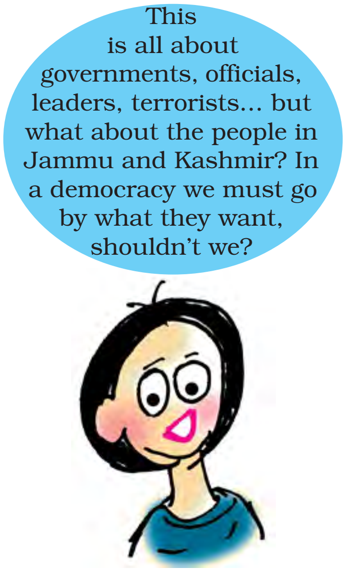
Insurgency and After

It was in this environment that the 1987 Assembly election took place. The official results showed a massive victory of the National Conference— Congress alliance and Farooq Abdullah returned as Chief Minister. But it was widely believed that the results did not reflect popular choice, and that the entire election process was rigged. A popular resentment had already been brewing in the State against the inefficient administration since early 1980s. This was now augmented by the commonly prevailing feeling that democratic processes were being undermined by the state at the behest of the Centre. This generated a political crisis in Kashmir which became severe with the rise of insurgency.

By 1989, the State had come in the grip of a militant movement mobilised around the cause of a separate Kashmiri nation. The insurgents got moral, material and military support from Pakistan. For a number of years the State was under President's rule and effectively under the control of the armed forces. Throughout the period from 1990, Jammu and Kashmir experienced extraordinary violence at the hands of the insurgents and through army action. Assembly elections in the State were held only in 1996 in which the National Conference led by Farooq Abdullah came to power with a demand for regional autonomy for Jammu and Kashmir. At the end of its term, elections were held in the State in 2002. The National Conference failed to win a majority and was replaced by a coalition government of People's Democratic Party (PDP) and Congress.

2002 and Beyond

As per the coalition agreement, Mufti Mohammed headed the government for the first three years succeeded by Ghulam Nabi Azad


This is all about governments, officials, leaders, terrorists... but what about the people in Jammu and Kashmir? In a democracy we must go by what they want, shouldn't we?

of the Indian National Congress who however could not complete the term as president rule was imposed in the state in July 2008. The next election was held in November-December 2008. Another coalition government (composed of NC and INC) came into power headed by Omar Abdullah in 2009. However, the state continued to witness disturbances led by the Hurriyat Conference. In 2014, the state went into another election, which recorded the highest voters' turnout in 25 years. Consequently a coalition government led by Mufti Mohammed Sayeed of the PDP came into power with the BJP as its partner. After Mufti Mohammed Sayeed died, his daughter Mahbooba Mufti became the first woman Chief Minister of the state in April 2016. During the tenure of Mahbooba Mufti, major acts of terrorism, mounting external and internal tensions were witnessed. The President's rule was imposed in June 2018 after BJP withdrew its support to the Mufti government. On 5 August 2019, Article 370 was abolished by the Jammu & Kashmir Reorganisation Act 2019 and the state was constituted into two Union Territories, viz., Jammu & Kashmir and Ladakh.

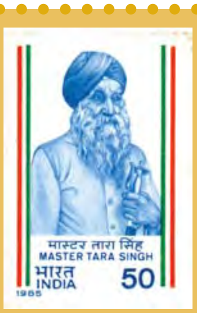
Jammu & Kashmir and Ladakh are living examples of plural society in India. Not only are there diversities of all kind (religious, cultural, linguistic, ethnic and tribal) but there are also divergent political and developmental aspirations, which have been sought to be achieved by the latest Act.

Punjab

The decade of 1980s also witnessed major developments in the State of Punjab. The social composition of the State changed first with Partition and later on after the carving out of Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. While the rest of the country was reorganised on linguistic lines in 1950s, Punjab had to wait till 1966 for the creation of a Punjabi speaking State. The Akali Dal, which was formed in 1920 as the political wing of the Sikhs, had led the movement for the formation of a 'Punjabi suba'. The Sikhs were now a majority in the truncated State of Punjab.

Political context

After the reorganisation, the Akalis came to power in 1967 and then in 1977. On both the occasions it was a coalition government. The Akalis discovered that despite the redrawing of the boundaries, their political position remained precarious. Firstly, their government was dismissed by the Centre mid-way through its term. Secondly, they did not enjoy strong support among the Hindus. Thirdly, the Sikh community, like all other religious communities, was internally differentiated on caste and class lines. The Congress got more support among the Dalits, whether Hindu or Sikh, than the Akalis.



Master Tara Singh (1885–1967): Prominent Sikh religious and political leader; one of the early leaders of the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC); leader of the Akali movement; supporter of the freedom movement but opposed to Congress' policy of negotiating only with the Muslims; after Independence, he was the senior most advocate of formation of separate Punjab State.

It was in this context that during the 1970s a section of Akalis began to demand political autonomy for the region. This was reflected in a resolution passed at their conference at Anandpur Sahib in 1973. The Anandpur Sahib Resolution asserted regional autonomy and wanted to redefine centre-state relationship in the country. The resolution also spoke of the aspirations of the Sikh *qaum* (community or nation) and declared its goal as attaining the *bolbala* (dominance or hegemony) of the Sikhs. The Resolution was a plea for strengthening federalism in India.

The Resolution had a limited appeal among the Sikh masses. A few years later, after the Akali government had been dismissed in 1980, the Akali Dal launched a movement on the question of the distribution of water between Punjab and its neighbouring States. A section of the religious leaders raised the question of autonomous Sikh identity.

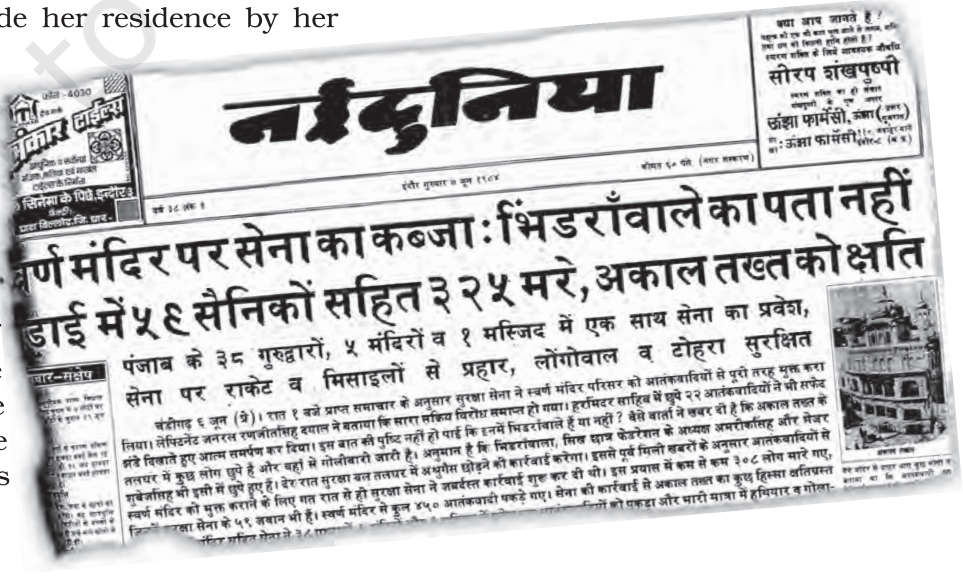
Cycle of violence

Soon, the leadership of the movement passed from the moderate Akalis to the extremist elements and took the form of armed insurgency. These militants made their headquarters inside the Sikh holy shrine, the Golden Temple in Amritsar, and turned it into an armed fortress. In June 1984, the Government of India carried out 'Operation Blue Star', code name for army action in the Golden Temple. In this operation, the Government could successfully flush out the militants, but it also damaged the historic temple and deeply hurt the sentiments of the Sikhs. A large proportion of Sikhs in India and abroad saw the military operation as an attack on their faith and this gave further impetus to militant and extremist groups.

Still more tragic turn of events complicated the Punjab problem further. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was assassinated on 31 October 1984 outside her residence by her bodyguards. Both the assassins were Sikhs and wanted to take revenge for Operation Blue Star. While the entire country was shocked by this development, in Delhi and in many parts of northern India violence broke out against the Sikh community. The violence against the Sikhs

भारत
INDIA
100
संत हरचंद सिंह लोंगोवाल
SANT HARCHAND SINGH LONGOWAL
1987

Sant Harchand Singh Longowal (1932–1985): Sikh political and religious leader; began his political career in mid-sixties as an Akali leader; became president of Akali Dal in 1980; reached an agreement with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi on key demands of Akalis; assassinated by unidentified Sikh youth.


नईदुनिया

इंदौर गुरुवार ७ जून १९८४

कीमत ६० पैसे (नगर संस्करण)

क्या आप जानते हैं?

सौरप शंखपुष्पी

ऊंझा फार्मेसी, ऊंझा

र्ण मंदिर पर सेना का कब्जा : भिंडराँवाले का पता नहीं

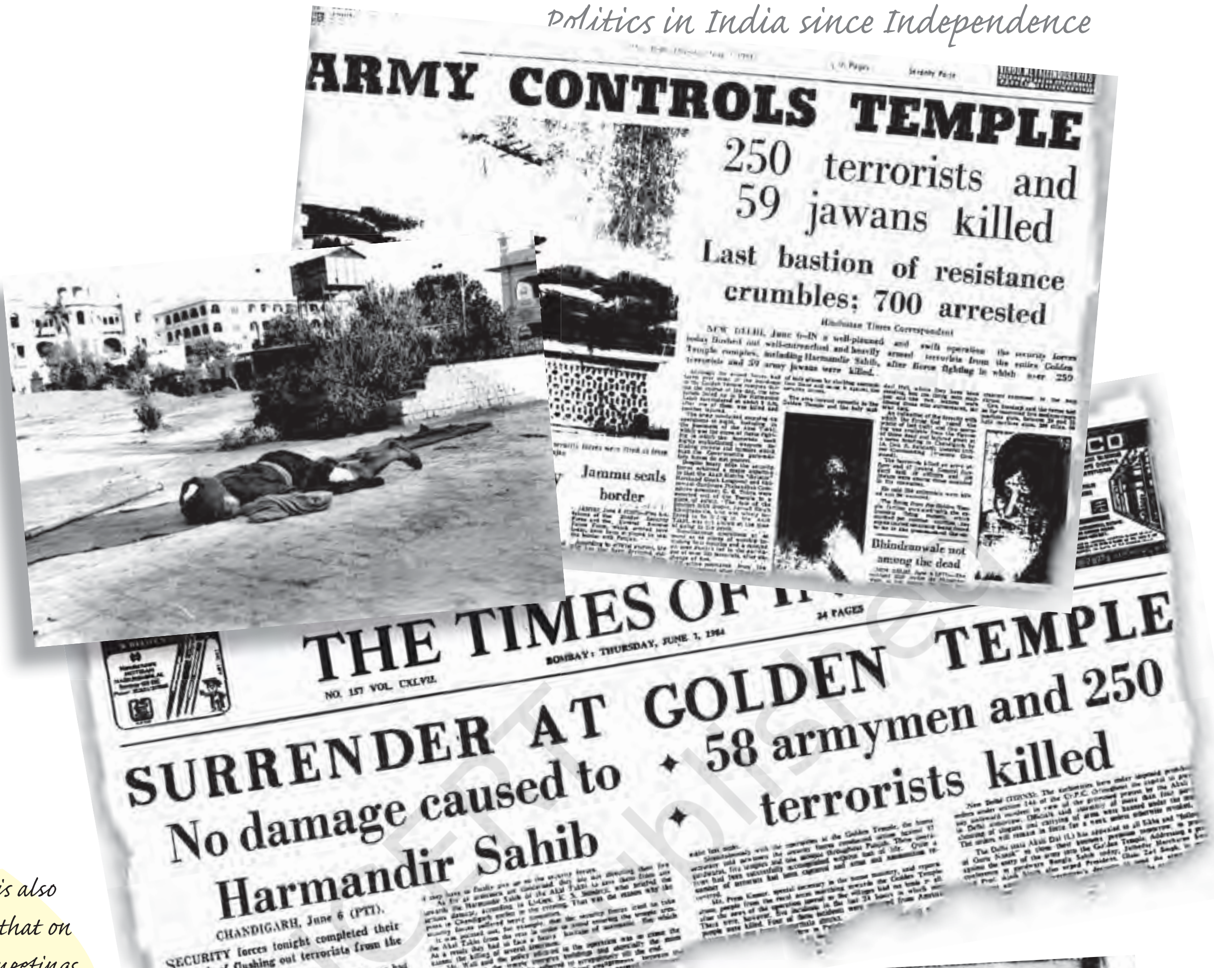
डाई में ५९ सैनिकों सहित ३२५ मरे, अकाल तख्त को क्षति

पंजाब के ३८ गुरुद्वारों, ५ मंदिरों व १ मस्जिद में एक साथ सेना का प्रवेश,

सेना पर राकेट व मिसाइलों से प्रहार, लोंगोवाल व टोहरा सुरक्षित

चंडीगढ़ ६ जून (प्रे)। रात १ बजे प्राप्त समाचार के अनुसार सुरक्षा सेना ने स्वर्ण मंदिर परिसर को आतंकवादियों से पूरी तरह मुक्त करा लिया। लेफ्टिनेंट जनरल रणजीतसिंह दयाल ने बताया कि सारा सक्रिय विरोध समाप्त हो गया। हरमिंदर साहिब में छुपे २२ आतंकवादियों ने भी सफेद झंडे दिखाते हुए आत्म समर्पण कर दिया। इस बात की पुष्टि नहीं हो पाई कि इनमें भिंडरांवाले हैं या नहीं? वैसे वार्ता ने खबर दी है कि अकाल तख्त के तलघर में कुछ लोग छुपे हैं और वहां से गोलीबारी जारी है। अनुमान है कि भिंडरांवाला, सिख छात्र फेडरेशन के अध्यक्ष अमरीकसिंह और मेजर शुबेगसिंह भी इसी में छुपे हुए हैं। देर रात सुरक्षा बल तलघर में अश्रुगैस छोड़ने की कार्रवाई करेगा। इससे पूर्व मिली खबरों के अनुसार आतंकवादियों से स्वर्ण मंदिर को मुक्त कराने के लिए गत रात से ही सुरक्षा सेना ने जबर्दस्त कार्रवाई शुरू कर दी थी। इस प्रयास में कम से कम ३०८ लोग मारे गए, जिनमें सुरक्षा सेना के ५९ जवान भी हैं। स्वर्ण मंदिर से कुल ४५० आतंकवादी पकड़े गए। सेना की कार्रवाई से अकाल तख्त का कुछ हिस्सा क्षतिग्रस्त [illegible] को पकड़ा और भारी मात्रा में हथियार व गोला-

अकाल तख्त



ARMY CONTROLS TEMPLE

250 terrorists and 59 jawans killed

Last bastion of resistance crumbles; 700 arrested

Hindustan Times Correspondent

NEW DELHI, June 6—IN a well-planned and swift operation the security forces today flushed out well-entrenched and heavily armed terrorists from the entire Golden Temple complex, including Harmandir Sahib, after fierce fighting in which over 250 terrorists and 59 army jawans were killed.

Jammu seals border

Bhindranwale not among the dead

THE TIMES OF I

BOMBAY: THURSDAY, JUNE 7, 1984

24 PAGES

NO. 157 VOL. CXLVII.

SURRENDER AT GOLDEN TEMPLE

No damage caused to Harmandir Sahib

✦ 58 armymen and 250

✦ terrorists killed

CHANDIGARH, June 6 (PTI).

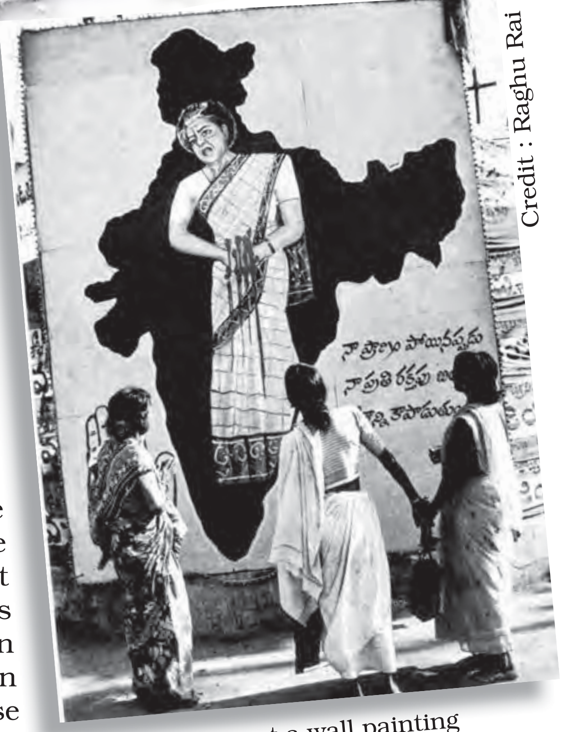
SECURITY forces tonight completed their task of flushing out terrorists from the Golden Temple complex.

An official spokesman said all active resistance had stopped from within the complex and mopping-up operations were on.

> There is also evidence to show that on 31-10-84 either meetings were held or persons who could organise attacks were contacted and were given instructions to kill Sikhs and loot their houses and shops. The attacks were made in a systematic manner and without much fear of the police, almost suggesting that they were assured that they would not be harmed while committing those acts or even after.

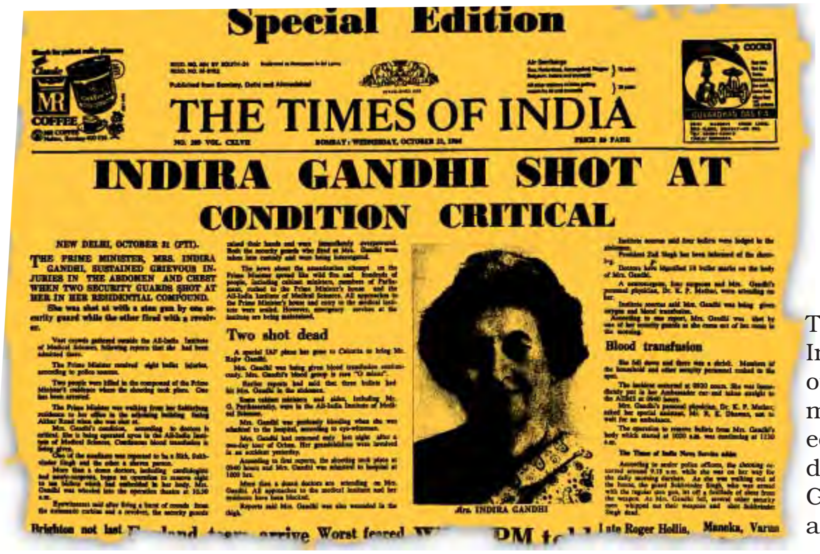
Justice Nanavati
Commission of Inquiry,
Report, Vol. I, 2005

continued for almost a week. More than two thousand Sikhs were killed in the national capital, the area worst affected by this violence. Hundreds of Sikhs were killed in other parts of the country, especially in places like Kanpur, Bokaro and Chas. Many Sikh families lost their male members and thus suffered great emotional and heavy financial loss. What hurt the Sikhs most was that the government took a long time in restoring normalcy and that the perpetrators of this violence were not effectively punished. Twenty years later, speaking in the Parliament in 2005, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh expressed regret over these killings and apologised to the nation for the anti-Sikh violence.



Credit : Raghu Rai

Women looking at a wall painting depicting Indira Gandhi's assassination.



Special Edition

THE TIMES OF INDIA

INDIRA GANDHI SHOT AT

CONDITION CRITICAL

NEW DELHI, OCTOBER 31 (PTI).

THE PRIME MINISTER, MRS. INDIRA GANDHI, SUSTAINED GRIEVOUS INJURIES IN THE ABDOMEN AND CHEST WHEN TWO SECURITY GUARDS SHOT AT HER IN HER RESIDENTIAL COMPOUND.

She was shot at with a sten gun by one security guard while the other fired with a revolver.

Two shot dead

Blood transfusion

Mrs. INDIRA GANDHI

Credit : Times of India

The Times of India brought out a special mid-day edition on the day Indira Gandhi was assassinated.

> *"I have no hesitation in apologising not only to the Sikh community but the whole Indian nation because what took place in 1984 is the negation of the concept of nationhood and what is enshrined in our Constitution. So, I am not standing on any false prestige. On behalf of our Government, on behalf of the entire people of this country, I bow my head in shame that such thing took place. But, Sir, there are ebbs, there are tides in the affairs of nations. The past is with us. We cannot rewrite the past. But as human beings, we have the willpower and we have the ability to write better future for all of us."*
>
> Prime Minister
> Dr. Manmohan Singh
> intervening in Rajya
> Sabha debate on
> 11 August 2005

Road to peace

After coming to power following the election in 1984, the new Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi initiated a dialogue with moderate Akali leaders. In July 1985, he reached an agreement with Harchand Singh Longowal, then the President of the Akali Dal. This agreement, known as the Rajiv Gandhi - Longowal Accord or the Punjab Accord, was a step towards bringing normalcy to Punjab. It was agreed that Chandigarh would be transferred to Punjab, a separate commission would be appointed to resolve the border dispute between Punjab and Haryana, and a tribunal would be set up to decide the sharing of Ravi-Beas river water among Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan. The agreement also provided for compensation to and better treatment of those affected by the militancy in Punjab and the withdrawal of the application of Armed Forces Special Powers Act in Punjab.

However, peace did not come easily or immediately. The cycle of violence continued nearly for a decade. Militancy and counter insurgency violence led to excesses by the police and violations of human rights. Politically, it led to fragmentation of the Akali Dal. The central government had to impose President's rule in the State and the normal electoral and political process was suspended. It was not easy to restore the political process in the atmosphere of suspicion and violence. When elections were held in Punjab in 1992, only 24 per cent of the electors tuned out to vote.

Militancy was eventually eradicated by the security forces. But the losses incurred by the people of Punjab – Sikhs and Hindus alike – were enormous. Peace returned to Punjab by the middle of 1990s. The alliance of Akali Dal (Badal) and the BJP scored a major victory in1997, in the first normal elections in the State in the post-militancy era. The State is once again preoccupied with questions of economic development and social change. Though religious identities continue to be important for the people, politics has gradually moved back along secular lines.

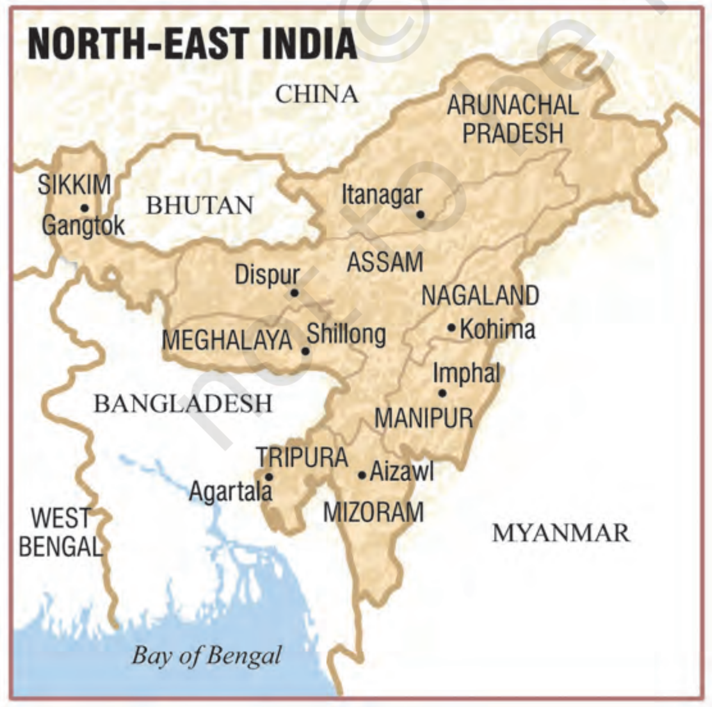
The North-East

In the North-East, regional aspirations reached a turning point in 1980s. This region now consists of eight States. Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Nagaland, Manipur, Tripura, Mizoram and Meghalaya, which earlier constituted the North-East region, are often called "the seven sisters". Sikkim, which has been added to the list is – referred to as the 'Brother' to those seven states. The region has only 4 per cent of the country's population but about twice as much share of its area. A small corridor of about 22 kilometers connects the region to the rest of the country. Otherwise the region shares boundaries with China, Myanmar and Bangladesh and serves as India's gateway to South East Asia.

The region has witnessed a lot of change since 1947. Tripura, Manipur and Khasi Hills of Meghalaya were erstwhile Princely States which merged with India after Independence. The entire region of North-East has undergone considerable political reorganisation. Nagaland State was created in 1963; Manipur, Tripura and Meghalaya in 1972 while Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh became separate States only in 1987. The Partition of India in 1947 had reduced the North-East to a land locked region and affected its economy. Cut off from the rest of India, the region suffered neglect in developmental terms. Its politics too remained insulated. At the same time, most States in this region underwent major demographic changes due to influx of migrants from neighbouring States and countries.

The isolation of the region, its complex social character and its backwardness compared to other parts of the country have all resulted in the complicated set of demands from different states of the North-East. The vast international border and weak communication between the North-East and the rest of India have further added to the delicate nature of politics there. Three issues dominate the politics of North-East: demands for autonomy, movements for secession, and opposition to 'outsiders'. Major initiatives on the first issue in the 1970s set the stage for some dramatic developments on the second and the third in the 1980s.

Note: This illustration is not a map drawn to scale and should not be taken to be an authentic depiction of India's external boundaries.



Demands for autonomy

At independence the entire region except Manipur and Tripura comprised the State of Assam. Demands for political autonomy arose when the non-Assamese felt that the Assam government was imposing Assamese language on them.

There were opposition and protest riots throughout the State. Leaders of the major tribal communities wanted to separate from Assam. They formed the Eastern India Tribal Union which later transformed into a more comprehensive All Party Hill Leaders Conference in 1960. They demanded a tribal State to be carved out of Assam. Finally instead of one tribal State, several States got carved out of Assam. At different points of time the Central Government had to create Meghalaya, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh out of Assam. Tripura and Manipur were upgraded into States too.

The reorganisation of the North-East was completed by 1972. But this was not the end of autonomy demands in this region. In Assam, for example, communities like the Bodos, Karbis and Dimasas wanted separate States. They worked for this demand by mobilising public opinion and popular movement as well as through insurgency. Often the same area was claimed by more than one community. It was not possible to go on making smaller and yet smaller States. Therefore, some other provisions of our federal set up were used to satisfy their autonomy demands while remaining in Assam. Karbis and Dimasas have been granted autonomy under District Councils while Bodos were recently granted Autonomous Council.

Secessionist movements

Demands for autonomy were easier to respond to, for these involved using the various provisions in the Constitution for accommodation of diversities. It was much more difficult when some groups demanded a separate country, not in momentary anger but consistently as a principled position. The country's leadership faced this problem for a very long time in at least two States in the North-East. A comparison of these two cases offers us a lesson in democratic politics.

After Independence, the Mizo Hills area was made an autonomous district within Assam. Some Mizos believed that they were never a part of British India and therefore did not belong to the Indian union. But the movement for secession gained popular support after the Assam government failed to respond adequately to the great famine of 1959 in Mizo hills. The Mizos' anger led to the formation of the Mizo National Front (MNF) under the leadership of Laldenga.

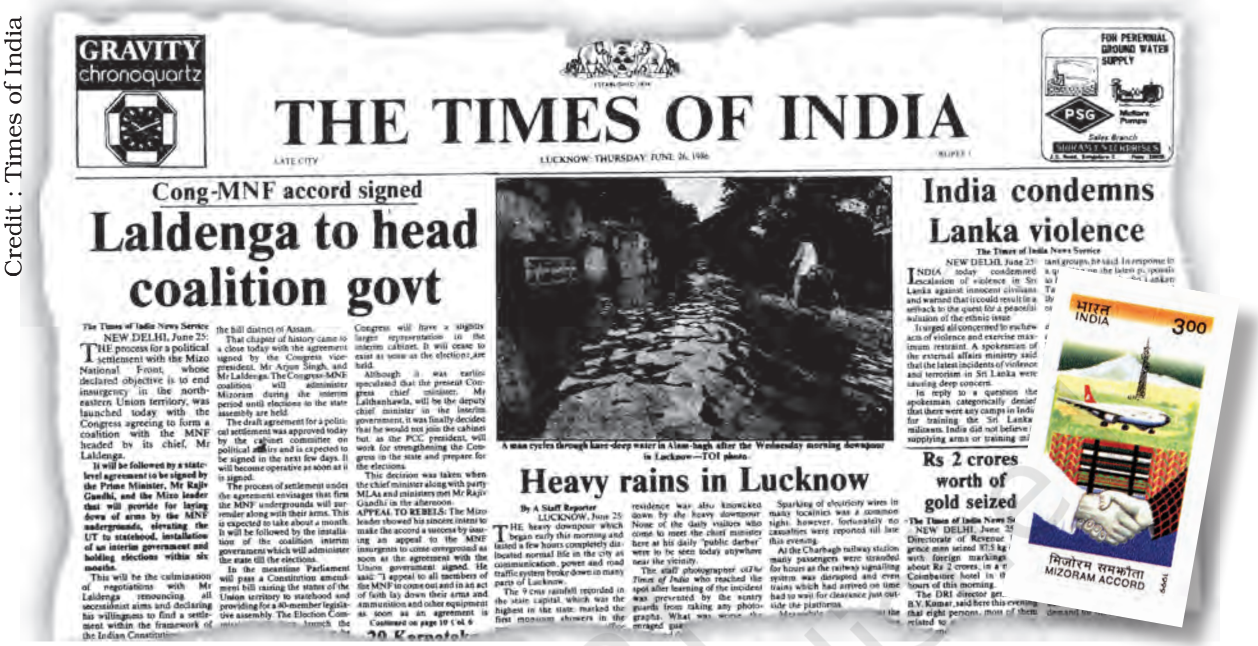
In 1966 the MNF started an armed campaign for independence. Thus, started a two decade long battle between Mizo insurgents and the Indian army. The MNF fought a guerilla war, got support from Pakistani government and secured shelter in the then East Pakistan. The Indian security forces countered it with a series of repressive measures of which the common people were the victims. At one point even Air Force was used. These measures caused more anger and alienation among the people.

At the end of two decades of insurgency everyone was a loser. This is where maturity of the political leadership at both ends made

My friend Chon said that people in Delhi know more about the map of Europe than about the North-East in our country. I think she is right at least about my schoolmates.

Laldenga (1937-1990): Founder and leader of the Mizo National Front; turned into a rebel after the experience of the famine in 1959; led an armed struggle against India for two decades; reached a settlement and signed an agreement with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in 1986; became the Chief Minister of the newly created State of Mizoram.

Credit : Times of India



GRAVITY chronoquartz

THE TIMES OF INDIA

LATE CITY LUCKNOW: THURSDAY JUNE 26, 1986

FOR PERENNIAL GROUND WATER SUPPLY PSG Motors Pumps

Cong-MNF accord signed

Laldenga to head coalition govt

The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI, June 25: THE process for a political settlement with the Mizo National Front, whose declared objective is to end insurgency in the north-eastern Union territory, was launched today with the Congress agreeing to form a coalition with the MNF headed by its chief, Mr Laldenga.

It will be followed by a state-level agreement to be signed by the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, and the Mizo leader that will provide for laying down of arms by the MNF undergrounds, elevating the UT to statehood, installation of an interim government and holding elections within six months.

This will be the culmination of negotiations with Mr Laldenga renouncing all secessionist aims and declaring his willingness to find a settlement within the framework of the Indian Constitution

the hill district of Assam.

That chapter of history came to a close today with the agreement signed by the Congress vice-president, Mr Arjun Singh, and Mr Laldenga. The Congress-MNF coalition will administer Mizoram during the interim period until elections to the state assembly are held.

The draft agreement for a political settlement was approved today by the cabinet committee on political affairs and is expected to be signed in the next few days. It will become operative as soon as it is signed.

The process of settlement under the agreement envisages that first the MNF undergrounds will surrender along with their arms. This is expected to take about a month. It will be followed by the installation of the coalition interim government which will administer the state till the elections.

In the meantime Parliament will pass a Constitution amendment bill raising the status of the Union territory to statehood and providing for a 40-member legislative assembly. The Election Commission launch the

Congress will have a slightly larger representation in the interim cabinet. It will cease to exist as soon as the elections are held.

Although it was earlier speculated that the present Congress chief minister, Mr Lalthanhawla, will be the deputy chief minister in the interim government, it was finally decided that he would not join the cabinet but, as the PCC president, will work for strengthening the Congress in the state and prepare for the elections.

This decision was taken when the chief minister along with party MLAs and ministers met Mr Rajiv Gandhi in the afternoon.

APPEAL TO REBELS: The Mizo leader showed his sincere intent to make the accord a success by issuing an appeal to the MNF insurgents to come overground as soon as the agreement with the Union government signed. He said: "I appeal to all members of the MNF to come out and in an act of faith lay down their arms and ammunition and other equipment as soon as an agreement is

Continued on page 10 Col 6

A man cycles through knee-deep water in Alam-bagh after the Wednesday morning downpour in Lucknow—TOI photo.

Heavy rains in Lucknow

By A Staff Reporter

LUCKNOW, June 25: THE heavy downpour which began early this morning and lasted a few hours completely dislocated normal life in the city as communication, power and road traffic system broke down in many parts of Lucknow.

The 9 cms rainfall recorded in the state capital, which was the highest in the state, marked the first monsoon showers in the

residence was also knocked down by the heavy downpour. None of the daily visitors who come to meet the chief minister here at his daily "public darbar" were to be seen today anywhere near the vicinity.

The staff photographer of *The Times of India* who reached the spot after learning of the incident was prevented by the sentry guards from taking any photographs. What was worse, the enraged gua

Sparking of electricity wires in many localities was a common sight, however, fortunately no casualties were reported till late this evening.

At the Charbagh railway station many passengers were stranded for hours as the railway signalling system was disrupted and even trains which had arrived on time had to wait for clearance just outside the platforms.

India condemns Lanka violence

The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI, June 25: INDIA today condemned escalation of violence in Sri Lanka against innocent civilians and warned that it could result in a setback to the quest for a peaceful solution of the ethnic issue.

It urged all concerned to eschew acts of violence and exercise maximum restraint. A spokesman of the external affairs ministry said that the latest incidents of violence and terrorism in Sri Lanka were causing deep concern.

In reply to a question the spokesman categorically denied that there were any camps in India for training the Sri Lanka militants. India did not believe supplying arms or training mi

Rs 2 crores worth of gold seized

The Times of India News S

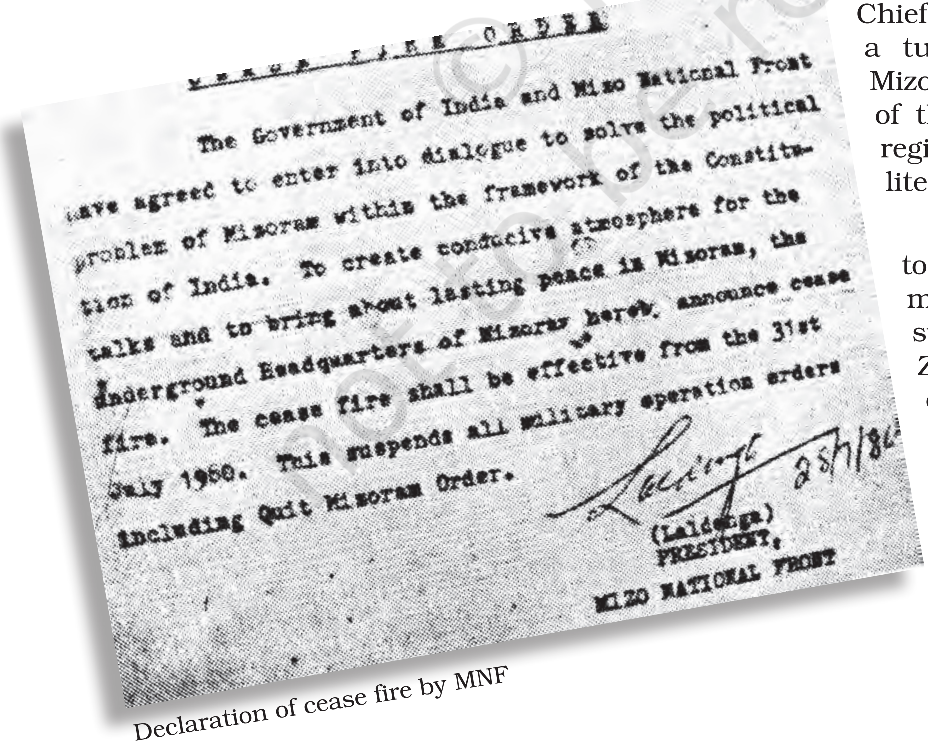
NEW DELHI, June 25: Directorate of Revenue gence men seized 87.5 kg with foreign markings about Rs 2 crores, in a Coimbatore hotel in th hours of this morning.

The DRI director gen B.V. Kumar, said here this evening that eight persons, most of them related to

भारत INDIA 300

मिज़ोरम समझौता MIZORAM ACCORD

a difference. Laldenga came back from exile in Pakistan and started negotiations with the Indian government. Rajiv Gandhi steered these negotiations to a positive conclusion. In 1986 a peace agreement was signed between Rajiv Gandhi and Laldenga. As per this accord Mizoram was granted full-fledged statehood with special powers and the MNF agreed to give up secessionist struggle. Laldenga took over as the Chief Minister. This accord proved a turning point in the history of Mizoram. Today, Mizoram is one of the most peaceful places in the region and has taken big strides in literacy and development.



CEASE FIRE ORDER

The Government of India and Mizo National Front have agreed to enter into dialogue to solve the political problem of Mizoram within the framework of the Constitution of India. To create conducive atmosphere for the talks and to bring about lasting peace in Mizoram, the Underground Headquarters of Mizoram hereby, we announce cease fire. The cease fire shall be effective from the 31st July 1986. This suspends all military operation orders including Quit Mizoram Order.

Laldenga 28/7/86

(Laldenga)
PRESIDENT,
MIZO NATIONAL FRONT

Declaration of cease fire by MNF

The story of Nagaland is similar to Mizoram, except that it started much earlier and has not yet had such a happy ending. Led by Angami Zapu Phizo, a section of the Nagas declared independence from India way back in 1951. Phizo turned down many offers of negotiated settlement. The Naga National Council launched an armed struggle for sovereignty of Nagas. After a period of violent insurgency a section of the Nagas signed an agreement with the Government of India but this was not acceptable to other rebels. The problem in Nagaland still awaits a final resolution.

Angami Zapu Phizo (1904-1990): Leader of the movement for independent Nagaland; president of Naga National Council; began an armed struggle against the Indian state; went 'underground', stayed in Pakistan and spent the last three decades of his life in exile in UK.

Movements against outsiders

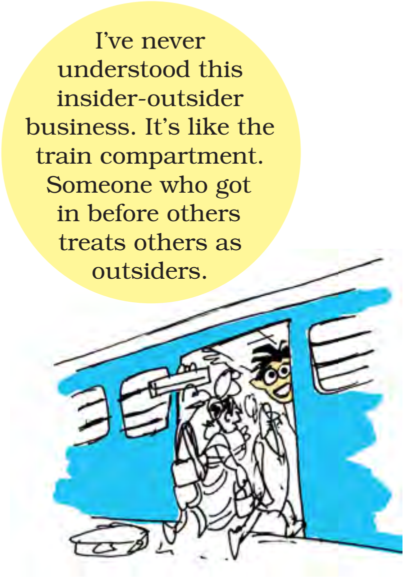
The large scale migration into the North-East gave rise to a special kind of problem that pitted the 'local' communities against people who were seen as 'outsiders' or migrants. These latecomers, either from India or abroad are seen as encroachers on scarce resources like land and potential competitors to employment opportunities and political power. This issue has taken political and sometimes violent form in many States of the North-East.

The Assam Movement from 1979 to 1985 is the best example of such movements against 'outsiders'. The Assamese suspected that there were huge numbers of illegal Bengali Muslim settlers from Bangladesh. They felt that unless these foreign nationals are detected and deported they would reduce the indigenous Assamese into a minority. There were other economic issues too. There was widespread poverty and unemployment in Assam despite the existence of natural resources like oil, tea and coal. It was felt that these were drained out of the State without any commensurate benefit to the people.

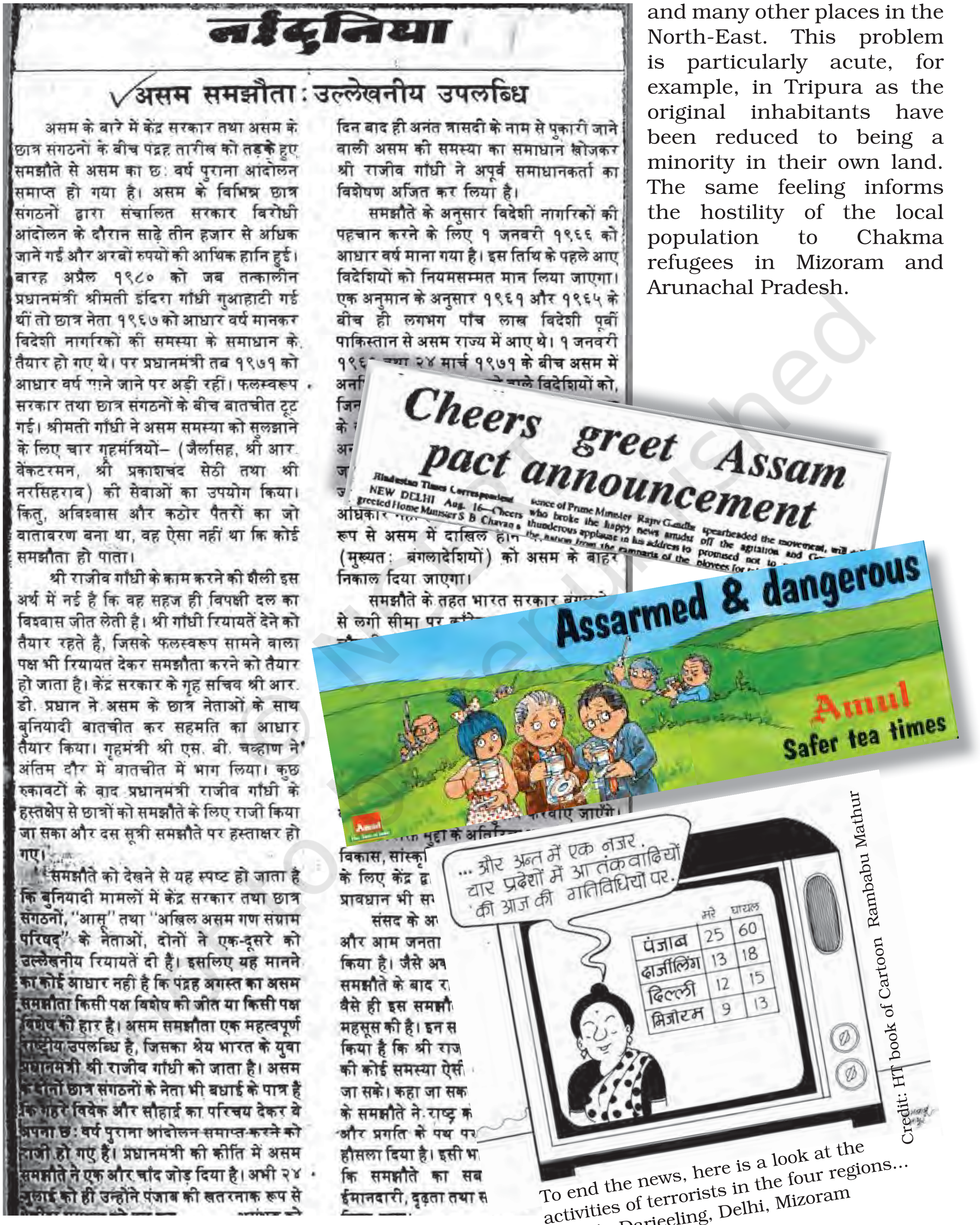
In 1979 the All Assam Students' Union (AASU), a students' group not affiliated to any party, led an anti-foreigner movement. The movement was against illegal migrations, against domination of Bengalis and other outsiders, and against faulty voters' register that included the names of lakhs of immigrants. The movement demanded that all outsiders who had entered the State after 1951 should be sent back. The agitation followed many novel methods and mobilised all sections of Assamese people, drawing support across the State. It also involved many tragic and violent incidents leading to loss of property and human lives. The movement also tried to blockade the movement of trains and the supply of oil from Assam to refineries in Bihar.

Eventually after six years of turmoil, the Rajiv Gandhi-led government entered into negotiations with the AASU leaders, leading to the signing of an accord in 1985. According to this agreement those foreigners who migrated into Assam during and after Bangladesh war and since, were to be identified and deported. With the successful completion of the movement, the AASU and the Asom Gana Sangram Parishad organised themselves as a regional political party called Asom Gana Parishad (AGP). It came to power in 1985 with the promise of resolving the foreign national problem as well as to build a 'Golden Assam'.

Assam accord brought peace and changed the face of politics in Assam, but it did not solve the problem of immigration. The issue of the 'outsiders' continues to be a live issue in the politics of Assam


I've never understood this insider-outsider business. It's like the train compartment. Someone who got in before others treats others as outsiders.

and many other places in the North-East. This problem is particularly acute, for example, in Tripura as the original inhabitants have been reduced to being a minority in their own land. The same feeling informs the hostility of the local population to Chakma refugees in Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh.



नईदुनिया

असम समझौता : उल्लेखनीय उपलब्धि

असम के बारे में केंद्र सरकार तथा असम के छात्र संगठनों के बीच पंद्रह तारीख को तड़के हुए समझौते से असम का छः वर्ष पुराना आंदोलन समाप्त हो गया है। असम के विभिन्न छात्र संगठनों द्वारा संचालित सरकार विरोधी आंदोलन के दौरान साढ़े तीन हजार से अधिक जानें गईं और अरबों रुपयों की आर्थिक हानि हुई। बारह अप्रैल १९८० को जब तत्कालीन प्रधानमंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी गुआहाटी गई थीं तो छात्र नेता १९६७ को आधार वर्ष मानकर विदेशी नागरिकों की समस्या के समाधान के तैयार हो गए थे। पर प्रधानमंत्री तब १९७१ को आधार वर्ष माने जाने पर अड़ी रहीं। फलस्वरूप सरकार तथा छात्र संगठनों के बीच बातचीत टूट गई। श्रीमती गांधी ने असम समस्या को सुलझाने के लिए चार गृहमंत्रियों– (जैलसिंह, श्री आर. वेंकटरमन, श्री प्रकाशचंद सेठी तथा श्री नरसिंहराव) की सेवाओं का उपयोग किया। किंतु, अविश्वास और कठोर पैंतरों का जो वातावरण बना था, वह ऐसा नहीं था कि कोई समझौता हो पाता।

श्री राजीव गांधी के काम करने की शैली इस अर्थ में नई है कि वह सहज ही विपक्षी दल का विश्वास जीत लेती है। श्री गांधी रियायतें देने को तैयार रहते हैं, जिसके फलस्वरूप सामने वाला पक्ष भी रियायत देकर समझौता करने को तैयार हो जाता है। केंद्र सरकार के गृह सचिव श्री आर. डी. प्रधान ने असम के छात्र नेताओं के साथ बुनियादी बातचीत कर सहमति का आधार तैयार किया। गृहमंत्री श्री एस. बी. चव्हाण ने अंतिम दौर में बातचीत में भाग लिया। कुछ रुकावटों के बाद प्रधानमंत्री राजीव गांधी के हस्तक्षेप से छात्रों को समझौते के लिए राजी किया जा सका और दस सूत्री समझौते पर हस्ताक्षर हो गए।

समझौते को देखने से यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि बुनियादी मामलों में केंद्र सरकार तथा छात्र संगठनों, "आसू" तथा "अखिल असम गण संग्राम परिषद्" के नेताओं, दोनों ने एक-दूसरे को उल्लेखनीय रियायतें दी हैं। इसलिए यह मानने का कोई आधार नहीं है कि पंद्रह अगस्त का असम समझौता किसी पक्ष विशेष की जीत या किसी पक्ष विशेष की हार है। असम समझौता एक महत्वपूर्ण राष्ट्रीय उपलब्धि है, जिसका श्रेय भारत के युवा प्रधानमंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी को जाता है। असम के दोनों छात्र संगठनों के नेता भी बधाई के पात्र हैं कि गहरे विवेक और सौहार्द्र का परिचय देकर वे अपना छः वर्ष पुराना आंदोलन समाप्त करने को राजी हो गए हैं। प्रधानमंत्री की कीर्ति में असम समझौते ने एक और चांद जोड़ दिया है। अभी २४ जुलाई को ही उन्होंने पंजाब की खतरनाक रूप से

दिन बाद ही अनंत त्रासदी के नाम से पुकारी जाने वाली असम की समस्या का समाधान खोजकर श्री राजीव गांधी ने अपूर्व समाधानकर्ता का विशेषण अर्जित कर लिया है।

समझौते के अनुसार विदेशी नागरिकों की पहचान करने के लिए १ जनवरी १९६६ को आधार वर्ष माना गया है। इस तिथि के पहले आए विदेशियों को नियमसम्मत मान लिया जाएगा। एक अनुमान के अनुसार १९६१ और १९६५ के बीच ही लगभग पांच लाख विदेशी पूर्वी पाकिस्तान से असम राज्य में आए थे। १ जनवरी १९६ तथा २४ मार्च १९७१ के बीच असम में अन वाले विदेशियों को, जिन के अन ज ज अधिकार रूप से असम में दाखिल होन (मुख्यत: बंगलादेशियों) को असम के बाहर निकाल दिया जाएगा।

समझौते के तहत भारत सरकार से लगी सीमा पर

मुद्दा के अति विकास, सांस्कृ के लिए केंद्र द्व प्रावधान भी स

संसद के अ और आम जनता किया है। जैसे अ समझौते के बाद र वैसे ही इस समझौ महसूस की है। इन स किया है कि श्री राज की कोई समस्या ऐसी जा सके। कहा जा सक के समझौते ने राष्ट्र क और प्रगति के पथ पर हौसला दिया है। इसी भ कि समझौते का सब ईमानदारी, दृढ़ता तथा स

Cheers greet Assam pact announcement

Hindustan Times Correspondent

NEW DELHI, Aug. 16—Cheers greeted Home Minister S B Chavan's ... sence of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi who broke the happy news amidst thunderous applause in his address to the nation from the ramparts of the ... spearheaded the movement, will ... off the agitation and ... promised not to ... ployees for

... और अन्त में एक नजर, चार प्रदेशों में आतंकवादियों की आज की गतिविधियों पर.

	मरे	घायल
पंजाब	25	60
दार्जीलिंग	13	18
दिल्ली	12	15
मिज़ोरम	9	13

To end the news, here is a look at the activities of terrorists in the four regions... Punjab, Darjeeling, Delhi, Mizoram

Credit: HT book of Cartoon Rambabu Mathur

Sikkim's merger

At the time of Independence, Sikkim was a 'protectorate' of India. It meant that while it was not a part of India, it was also not a fully sovereign country. Sikkim's defence and foreign relations were looked after by India, while the power of internal administration was with the Chogyal, Sikkim's monarch. This arrangement ran into difficulty as the Chogyal was unable to deal with the democratic aspirations of the people. An overwhelming majority of Sikkim's population was Nepali. But the Chogyal was seen as perpetuating the rule of a small elite from the minority Lepcha-Bhutia community. The anti-Chogyal leaders of both the communities sought and got support from the Government of India.

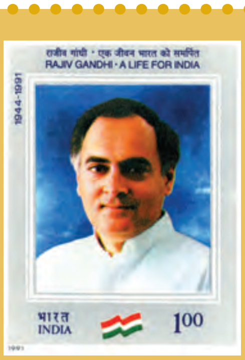
The first democratic elections to Sikkim assembly in 1974 were swept by Sikkim Congress which stood for greater integration with India. The assembly first sought the status of 'associate state' and then in April 1975 passed a resolution asking for full integration with India. This was followed by a hurriedly organised referendum that put a stamp of popular approval on the assembly's request. The Indian Parliament accepted this request immediately and Sikkim became the 22nd State of the Indian union. Chogyal did not accept this merger and his supporters accused the Government of India of foul play and use of force. Yet the merger enjoyed popular support and did not become a divisive issue in Sikkim's politics.

Kazi Lhendup Dorji Khangsarpa (1904): Leader of democracy movement in Sikkim; founder of Sikkim Praja Mandal and later leader of the Sikkim State Congress; in 1962 founded the Sikkim National Congress; after an electoral victory, he led the movement for integration of Sikkim with India; after the integration, Sikkim Congress merged with the Indian National Congress.

Accommodation and National Integration

These cases have shown us that even after 75 years of Independence, some of the issues of national integration are not fully resolved. We have seen that regional aspirations ranging from demands of statehood and economic development to autonomy and separation keep coming up. The period since 1980 accentuated these tensions and tested the capacity of democratic politics to accommodate the demands of diverse sections of the society. What lessons can we draw from these examples?

First and the most elementary lesson is that regional aspirations are very much a part of democratic politics. Expression of regional issues is not an aberration or an abnormal phenomenon. Even in smaller countries like the United Kingdom there are regional aspirations in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Spain faces secessionist movement from the Basques and so does Sri Lanka from the Tamils. A large and diverse democracy like India must deal with regional aspirations on a regular basis. Nation building is an ongoing process.


राजीव गांधी • एक जीवन भारत को समर्पित
RAJIV GANDHI • A LIFE FOR INDIA
1944-1991
भारत
INDIA
100
1991

Rajiv Gandhi (1944–1991): Prime Minister of India between 1984 and 1989; son of Indira Gandhi; joined active politics after 1980; reached agreements with militants in Punjab, Mizoram and the students' union in Assam; pressed for a more open economy and computer technology; sent Indian Army contingent on the request of Sri Lankan government, to sort out the Sinhala-Tamil conflict; assassinated by suspected LTTE suicide bomber.

The second lesson is that the best way to respond to regional aspirations is through democratic negotiations rather than through suppression. Look at the situation in the eighties–militancy had erupted in Punjab; problems were persisting in the North-East; students in Assam were agitating; Kashmir valley was on the boil. Instead of treating these as simple law and order problems, the Government of India reached negotiated settlement with regional movements. This produced a reconciliation which reduced the tensions existing in many regions. The example of Mizoram shows how political settlement can resolve the problem of separatism effectively.

The third lesson is about the significance of power sharing. It is not sufficient to have a formal democratic structure. Besides that, groups and parties from the region need to be given share in power at the State level. Similarly, it is not sufficient to say that the states or the regions have autonomy in their matters. The regions together form the nation. So, the regions must have a share in deciding the destiny of the nation. If regions are not given a share in the national level decision making, the feeling of injustice and alienation can spread.

The fourth lesson is that regional imbalance in economic development contributes to the feeling of regional discrimination. Regional imbalance is a fact of India's development experience. Naturally, the backward states or backward regions in some states feel that their backwardness should be addressed on priority basis and that the policies of the Indian government have caused this imbalance. If some states remain poor and others develop rapidly, it leads to regional imbalances and inter-regional migrations.

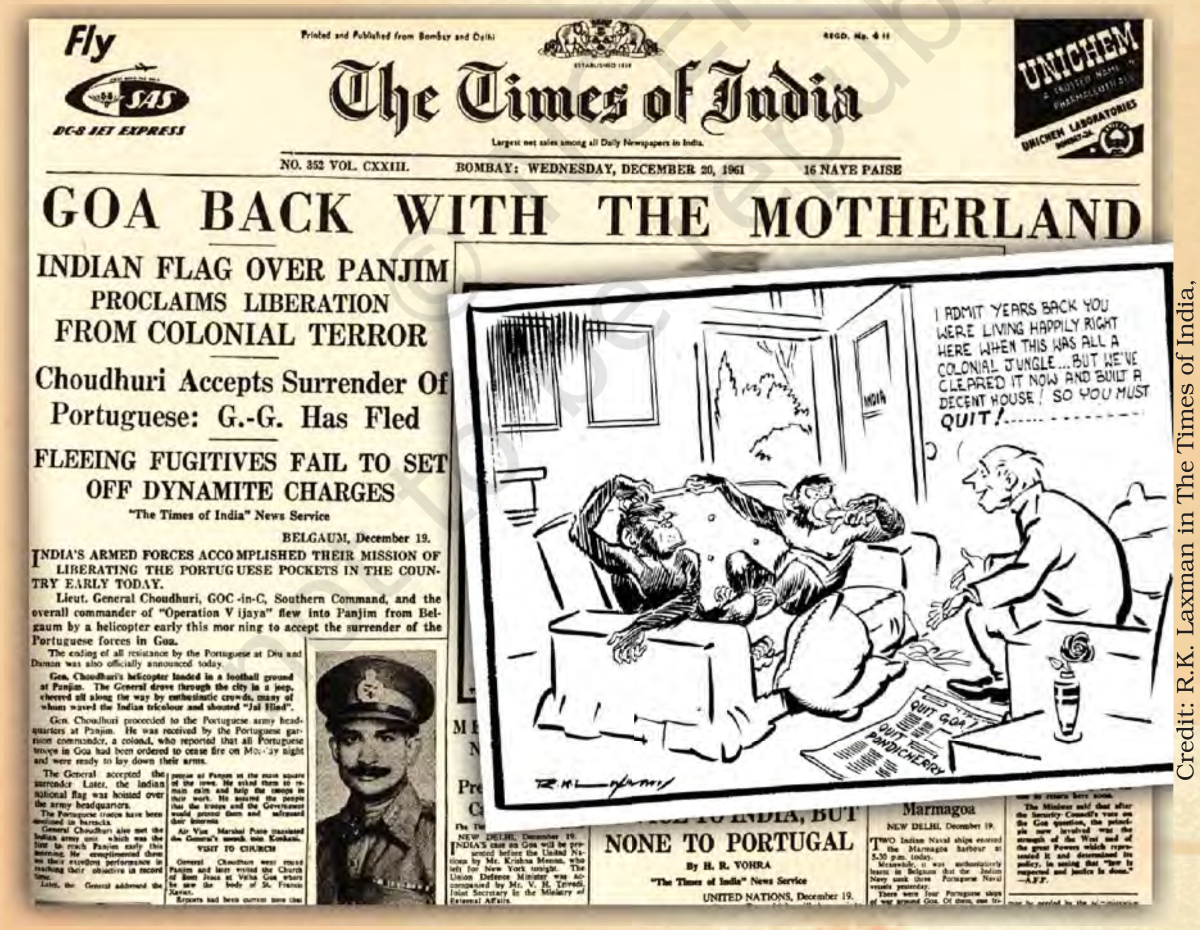
Finally, these cases make us appreciate the farsightedness of the makers of our Constitution in dealing with questions of diversity. The federal system adopted by India is a flexible arrangement. While most of the states have equal powers, there are special provisions for some states like J&K and the states in the North-East. However, Article 370 that contains special provisions for J&K, was abrogated in August 2019. The Sixth Schedule of the Constitution allows different tribes complete autonomy of preserving their practices and customary laws. These provisions proved crucial in resolving some very complex political problems in the North-East.

What distinguishes India from many other countries that face similar challenges is that the constitutional framework in India is much more flexible and accommodative. Therefore, regional aspirations are not encouraged to espouse separatism. Thus, politics in India has succeeded in accepting regionalism as part and parcel of democratic politics.

Goa's liberation

Although the British empire in India came to an end in 1947, Portugal refused to withdraw from the territories of Goa, Diu and Daman which were under its colonial rule since the sixteenth century. During their long rule, the Portuguese suppressed the people of Goa, denied them civil rights, and carried out forced religious conversions. After India's Independence, the Indian government tried very patiently to persuade the Portuguese government to withdraw. There was also a strong popular movement within Goa for freedom. They were strengthened by socialist satyagrahis from Maharashtra. Finally, in December 1961, the Government of India sent the army which liberated these territories after barely two days of action. Goa, Diu and Daman became Union Territory.

Another complication arose soon. Led by the Maharashtrawadi Gomanatak Party (MGP) one section desired that Goa, as a Marathi speaking area should merge with Maharashtra. However, many Goans were keen to retain a separate Goan identity and culture, particularly the Konkani language. They were led by the United Goan Party (UGP). In January 1967, the Central Government held a special 'opinion poll' in Goa asking people to decide if they wanted to be part of Maharashtra or remain separate. A referendum-like procedure was used to ascertain people's wishes on this issue. The majority voted in favour of remaining outside of Maharashtra. Thus, Goa continued as a Union Territory. Finally, in 1987, Goa became a State of the Indian Union.



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NO. 352 VOL. CXXIII. BOMBAY: WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1961 16 NAYE PAISE

GOA BACK WITH THE MOTHERLAND

INDIAN FLAG OVER PANJIM PROCLAIMS LIBERATION FROM COLONIAL TERROR

Choudhuri Accepts Surrender Of Portuguese: G.-G. Has Fled

FLEEING FUGITIVES FAIL TO SET OFF DYNAMITE CHARGES

"The Times of India" News Service

BELGAUM, December 19.

INDIA'S ARMED FORCES ACCOMPLISHED THEIR MISSION OF LIBERATING THE PORTUGUESE POCKETS IN THE COUNTRY EARLY TODAY.

Lieut. General Choudhuri, GOC-in-C, Southern Command, and the overall commander of "Operation Vijaya" flew into Panjim from Belgaum by a helicopter early this morning to accept the surrender of the Portuguese forces in Goa.

The ending of all resistance by the Portuguese at Diu and Daman was also officially announced today.

Gen. Choudhuri's helicopter landed in a football ground at Panjim. The General drove through the city in a jeep, cheered all along the way by enthusiastic crowds, many of whom waved the Indian tricolour and shouted "Jai Hind".

Gen. Choudhuri proceeded to the Portuguese army headquarters at Panjim. He was received by the Portuguese garrison commander, a colonel, who reported that all Portuguese troops in Goa had been ordered to cease fire on Monday night and were ready to lay down their arms.

The General accepted the surrender. Later, the Indian national flag was hoisted over the army headquarters.

VISIT TO CHURCH

NEW DELHI, December 19.

INDIA'S case on Goa will be presented before the United Nations by Mr. Krishna Menon, who left for New York tonight. The Union Defence Minister was accompanied by Mr. V. H. Trivedi, Joint Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs.

TO INDIA, BUT NONE TO PORTUGAL

By H. R. VOHRA

"The Times of India" News Service

UNITED NATIONS, December 19.

Marmagoa

NEW DELHI, December 19.

TWO Indian Naval ships entered the Marmagoa harbour at 5.30 p.m. today.

INDIA
I ADMIT YEARS BACK YOU WERE LIVING HAPPILY RIGHT HERE WHEN THIS WAS ALL A COLONIAL JUNGLE...BUT WE'VE CLEARED IT NOW AND BUILT A DECENT HOUSE! SO YOU MUST QUIT!
QUIT GOA
QUIT PONDICHERRY
R.K. Laxman

Credit: R.K. Laxman in The Times of India, 21 April 1954

EXERCISES

1. Match the following.

A	B
Nature of regional aspirations	**States**
(a) Socio-religious identity leading to statehood	i. Nagaland /Mizoram
(b) Linguistic identity and tensions with Centre	ii. Jharkhand /Chattisgarh
(c) Regional imbalance leading to demand for Statehood	iii. Punjab
(d) Secessionist demands on account of tribal identity	iv. Tamil Nadu

2. Regional aspirations of the people of North-East get expressed in different ways. These include movements against outsiders, movement for greater autonomy and movement for separate national existence. On the map of the North-East, using different shades for these three, show the States where these expressions are prominently found.

3. What were the main provisions of the Punjab accord? In what way can they be the basis for further tensions between the Punjab and its neighbouring States?

4. Why did the Anandpur Sahib Resolution become controversial?

5. Explain the internal divisions of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and describe how these lead to multiple regional aspirations in that State.

6. What are the various positions on the issue of regional autonomy for Kashmir? Which of these do you think are justifiable? Give reasons for your answer.

7. The Assam movement was a combination of cultural pride and economic backwardness. Explain.

8. All regional movements need not lead to separatist demands. Explain by giving examples from this chapter.

9. Regional demands from different parts of India exemplify the principle of unity with diversity. Do you agree? Give reasons.

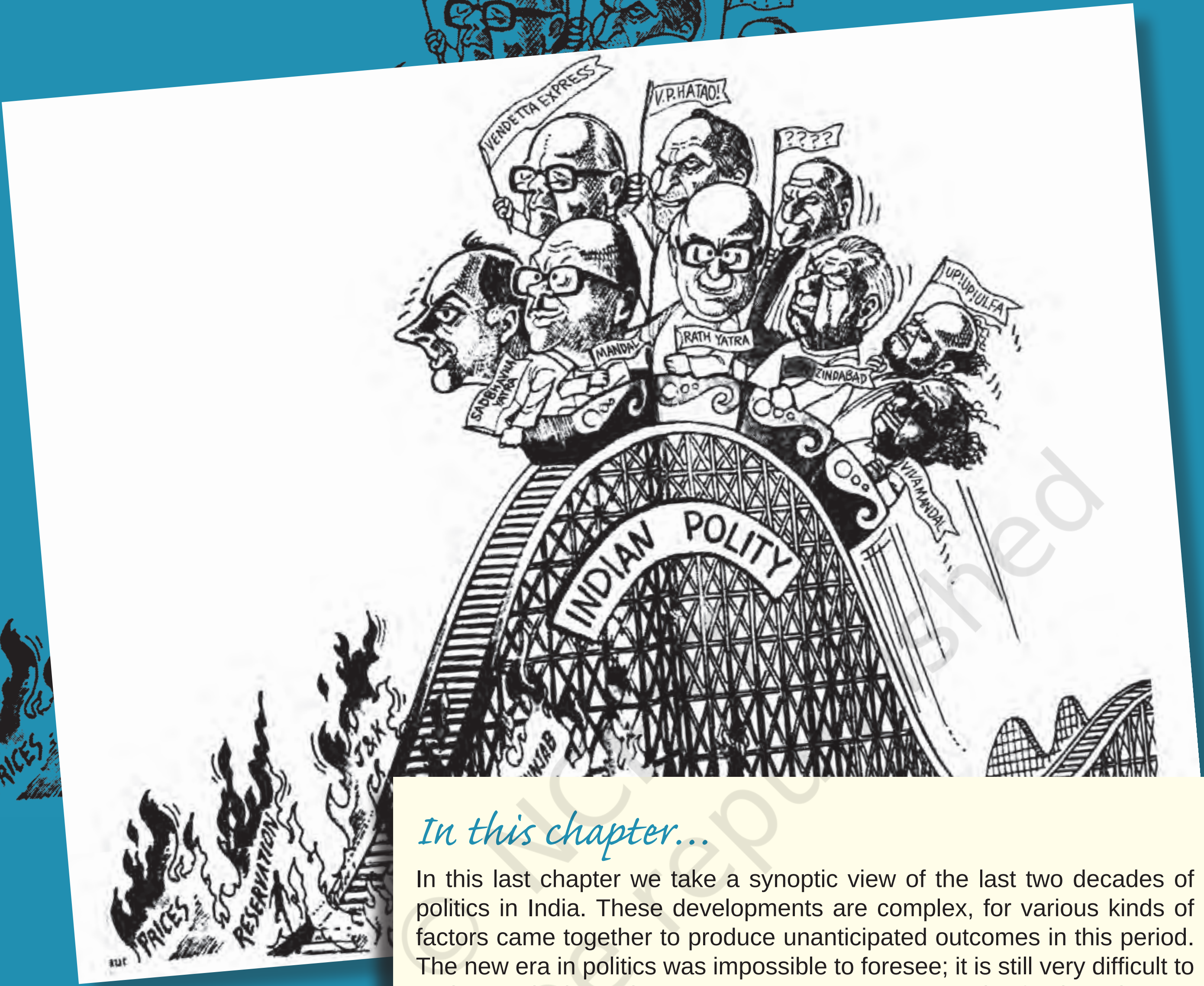
10. Read the passage and answer the questions below:

One of Hazarika's songs.. … dwells on the unity theme; the seven states of north-eastern India become seven sisters born of the same mother. …. 'Meghalaya went own way…., Arunachal too separated *and Mizoram appeared in Assam's gateway as a groom to marry another daughter.' ….. …. .. The song ends with a determination to keep the unity of the Assamese with other smaller nationalities that are left in the present-day Assam – 'the Karbis and the Missing brothers and sisters are our dear ones.'* — SANJIB BARUAH

(a) Which unity is the poet talking about?

(b) Why were some States of North-East created separately out of the erstwhile State of Assam?

(c) Do you think that the same theme of unity could apply to all the regions of India? Why?



Ups and downs of various political parties in the 1990s appeared to many, like this cartoon drawn in 1990, as a roller coaster ride. Riding the roller coaster are Rajiv Gandhi, V. P. Singh, L. K. Advani, Chandrashekhar, Jyoti Basu, N. T. Rama Rao, Devi Lal, P. K. Mahanta and K. Karunanidhi.

In this chapter...

In this last chapter we take a synoptic view of the last two decades of politics in India. These developments are complex, for various kinds of factors came together to produce unanticipated outcomes in this period. The new era in politics was impossible to foresee; it is still very difficult to understand. These developments are also controversial, for these involve deep conflicts and we are still too close to the events. Yet we can ask some questions central to the political change in this period.

- What are the implications of the rise of coalition politics for our democracy?
- What is Mandalisation all about? In which ways will it change the nature of political representation?
- What is the legacy of the Ram Janmabhoomi movement?
- What does the rise of a new policy consensus do to the nature of political choices?

The chapter does not answer these questions. It simply gives you the necessary information and some tools so that you can ask and answer these questions when you are through with this book. We cannot avoid asking these questions just because they are politically sensitive, for the whole point of studying the history of politics in India since Independence is to make sense of our present.

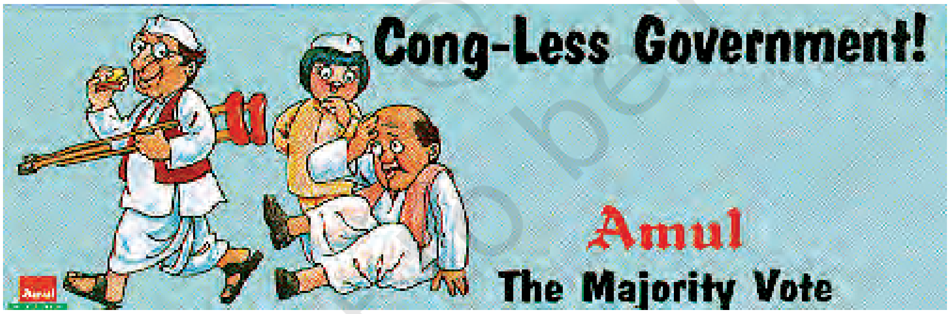
CHAPTER 8

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN INDIAN POLITICS

Context of the 1990s

You have read in the last chapter that Rajiv Gandhi became the Prime Minister after the assassination of Indira Gandhi. He led the Congress to a massive victory in the Lok Sabha elections held immediately thereafter in 1984. As the decade of the eighties came to a close, the country witnessed five developments that were to make a long-lasting impact on our politics.

First the most crucial development of this period was the defeat of the Congress party in the elections held in 1989. The party that had won as many as 415 seats in the Lok Sabha in 1984 was reduced to only 197 in this election. The Congress improved its performance and came back to power soon after the mid-term elections held in 1991. But the elections of 1989 marked the end of what political scientists have called the 'Congress system'. To be sure, the Congress remained an important party and ruled the country more than any other party even in this period since 1989. But it lost the kind of centrality it earlier enjoyed in the party system.

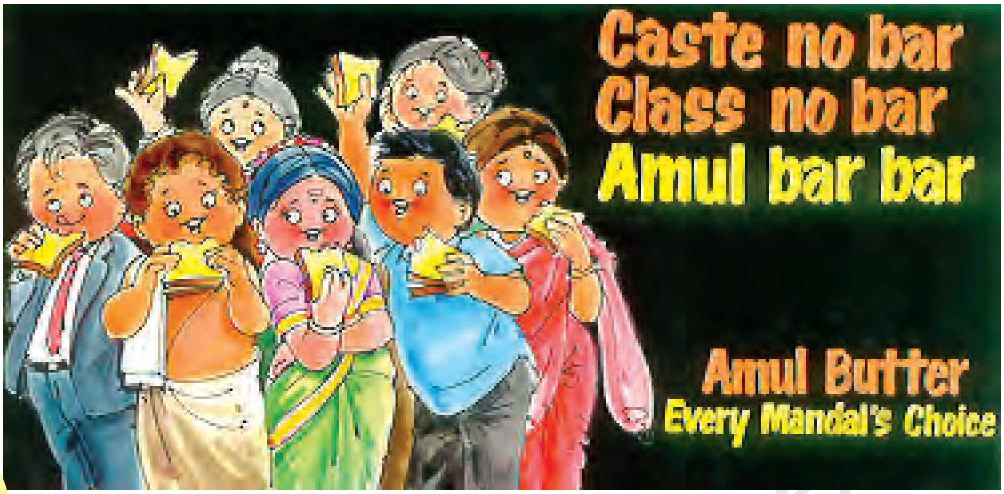


Congress leader Sitaram Kesri withdrew the crutches of support from Deve Gowda's United Front Government.

I wish to find out if the Congress can still bounce back to its old glory.

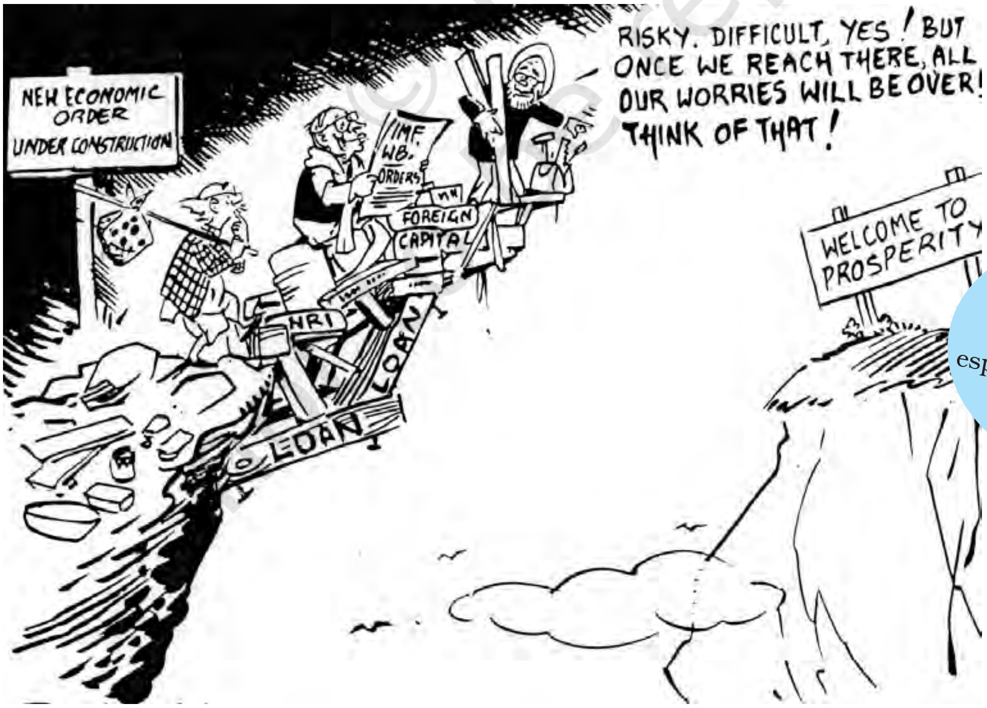
Second development was the rise of the 'Mandal issue' in national politics. This followed the decision by the new National Front government in 1990, to implement the recommendation of the Mandal Commission that jobs in central government should be reserved for the Other Backward Classes. This led to violent 'anti-Mandal' protests in different parts of the country. This dispute between the supporters and opponents of OBC reservations was known as the 'Mandal issue' and was to play an important role in shaping politics since 1989.

I wish to be sure if this phenomenon would have a long-term effect.


Caste no bar
Class no bar
Amul bar bar
Amul Butter
Every Mandal's Choice

A reaction to Mandalisation.

Third, the economic policy followed by the various governments took a radically different turn. This is known as the initiation of the structural adjustment programme or the new economic reforms. Started by Rajiv Gandhi, these changes first became very visible in 1991 and radically changed the direction that the Indian economy had pursued since Independence. These policies have been widely criticised by various movements and organisations. But the various governments that came to power in this period have continued to follow these.

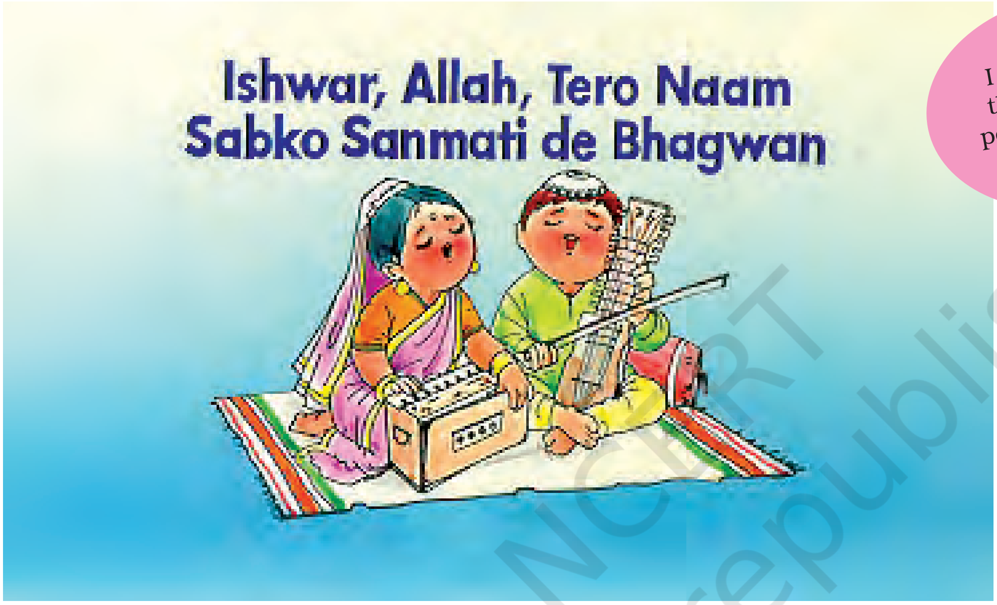

NEW ECONOMIC ORDER
UNDER CONSTRUCTION
IMF WB ORDERS
FOREIGN CAPITAL
NRI
LOAN
LOAN
RISKY. DIFFICULT, YES! BUT ONCE WE REACH THERE, ALL OUR WORRIES WILL BE OVER! THINK OF THAT!
WELCOME TO PROSPERITY

Credit: R. K. Laxman in the Times of India

Manmohan Singh, the then Finance Minister, with Prime Minister Narsimha Rao, in the initial phase of the 'New Economic Policy'.

I am not clear if this will make a difference to politics, especially if everyone has the same policy.

Fourth, the centuries old legal and political dispute over the Ram Janmabhoomi Temple in Ayodhya started influencing the politics of India which gave birth to various political changes. The Ram Janmabhoomi Temple Movement, becoming the central issue, transformed the direction of the discourse on secularism and democracy. These changes culminated in the construction of the Ram Temple at Ayodhya following the decision of the constitutional bench of the Supreme Court (which was announced on November 9, 2019).


Ishwar, Allah, Tero Naam
Sabko Sanmati de Bhagwan

Message of Harmony

I wonder how this will affect political parties!

Finally, the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi in May 1991 led to a change in leadership of the Congress party. He was assassinated by a Sri Lankan Tamil linked to the LTTE when he was on an election campaign tour in Tamil Nadu. In the elections of 1991, Congress emerged as the single largest party. Following Rajiv Gandhi's death, the party chose Narsimha Rao as the Prime Minister.

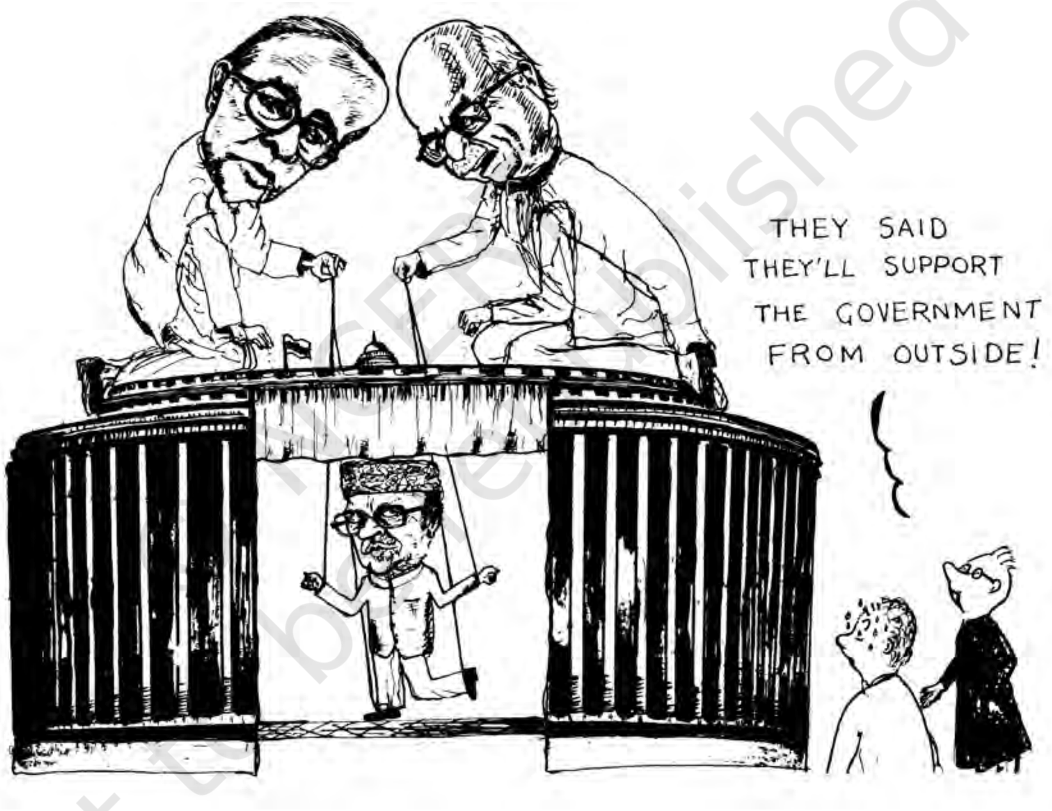
OUTLOOK
CAMPAIGN 96
OUTLOOK
SHOULD HE BE SMILING?
INDIA TODAY
MISSING A LEADER
INDIA TODAY
MANMOHAN'S MINISTERS
The BEST and the WORST

1 May 1996
25 October 1995
20 August 2001
25 October 2004

Leadership in Congress made many headlines.

Era of Coalitions

Elections in 1989 led to the defeat of the Congress party but did not result in a majority for any other party. Though the Congress was the largest party in the Lok Sabha, it did not have a clear majority and therefore, it decided to sit in the opposition. The National Front (which itself was an alliance of Janata Dal and some other regional parties) received support from two diametrically opposite political groups: the BJP and the Left Front. On this basis, the National Front formed a coalition government, but the BJP and the Left Front did not join in this government.


THEY SAID THEY'LL SUPPORT THE GOVERNMENT FROM OUTSIDE!

Credit: Sudhir Tailang /HT Book of Cartoons

The National Front Government lead by V. P. Singh was supported by the Left (represented here by Jyoti Basu) as well as the BJP (represented by L. K. Advani)

Decline of Congress

The defeat of the Congress party marked the end of Congress dominance over the Indian party system. Do you remember the discussion in Chapters about the restoration of the Congress system? Way back in the late sixties, the dominance of the Congress party was challenged; but the Congress under the leadership of Indira Gandhi, managed to re-establish its predominant position in politics. The nineties saw yet another challenge to the predominant position of the Congress. It did not, however, mean the emergence of any other single party to fill in its place.

Thus, began an era of multi-party system. To be sure, a large number of political parties always contested elections in our country. Our Parliament always had representatives from several political parties. What happened after 1989 was the emergence of several parties in such a way that one or two parties did not get most of the votes or seats. This also meant that no single party secured a clear majority of seats in any Lok Sabha election held since 1989 till 2014. This development initiated an era of coalition governments at the Centre, in which regional parties played a crucial role in forming ruling alliances but in 2014 and 2019 Lok Sabha election, the BJP got clear majority on its own.

Let's re-search

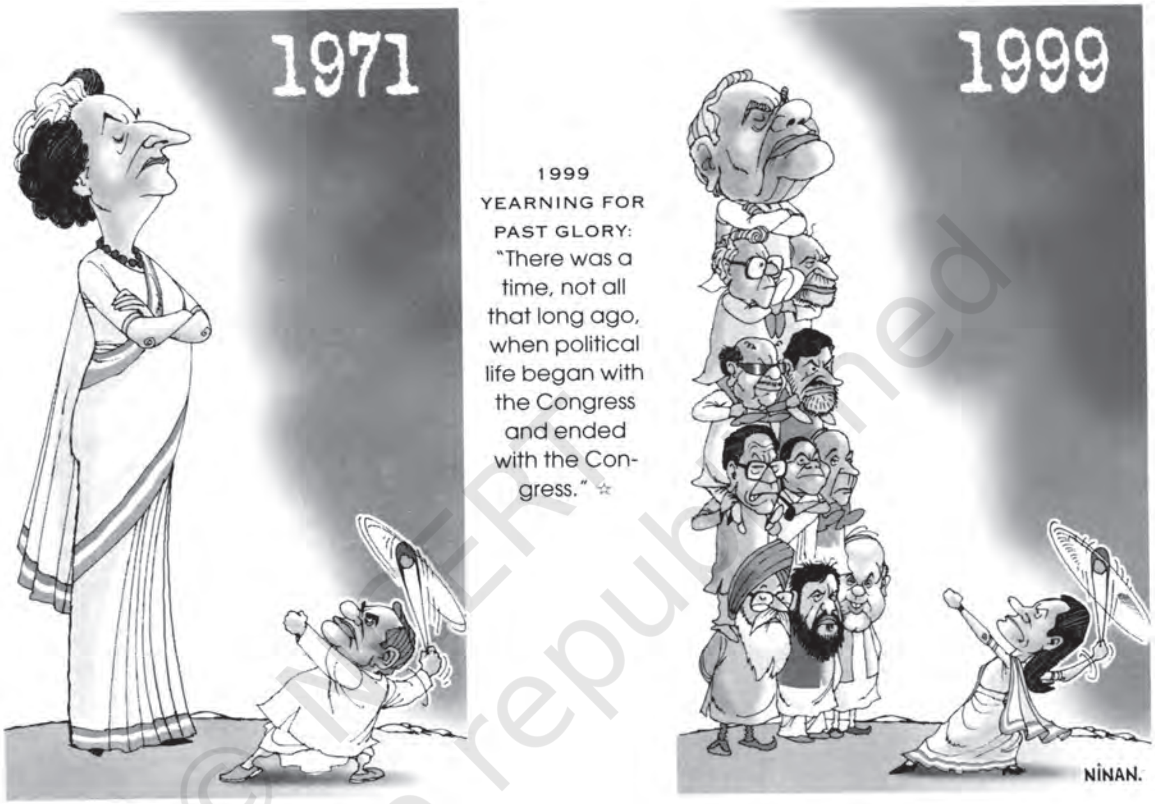
Talk to your parents about their memories of the events happening since the 1990s. Ask them what they felt were the most significant events of the period. Sit together in groups and draw a comprehensive list of the events reported by your parents, see which events get cited most, and compare them with what the chapter suggests were the most significant. You can also discuss why some events are more important for some and not for others.

Alliance politics

The nineties also saw the emergence of powerful parties and movements that represented the Dalit and backward castes (Other Backward Classes or OBCs). Many of these parties represented powerful regional assertion as well. These parties played an important role in the United Front government that came to power in 1996. The United Front was similar to the National Front of 1989 for it included Janata Dal and several regional parties. This time the BJP did not support the government. The United Front government was supported by the Congress. This shows how unstable the political equations were. In 1989, both the Left and the BJP supported the National Front Government because they wanted to keep the Congress out of power. In 1996, the Left continued to support the non-Congress government but this time the Congress, supported it, as both the Congress and the Left wanted to keep the BJP out of power.

They did not succeed for long, as the BJP continued to consolidate its position in the elections of 1991 and 1996. It emerged as the largest party in the 1996 election and was invited to form the government. But most other parties were opposed to its policies and therefore, the BJP government could not secure a majority in the Lok Sabha. It finally came to power by leading a coalition government from May 1998 to June 1999 and was re-elected in October 1999. Atal Behari Vajpayee was the Prime Minister during both these NDA governments and his government formed in 1999 completed its full term.

Credit: Ajit Ninan/India Today


1971
1999
1999
YEARNING FOR
PAST GLORY:
"There was a time, not all that long ago, when political life began with the Congress and ended with the Congress." ☆
NINAN.

A cartoonist's depiction of the change from one-party dominance to a multi-party alliance system.

Thus, with the elections of 1989, a long phase of coalition politics began in India. Since then, there have been eleven governments at the Centre, all of which have either been coalition governments or minority governments supported by other parties, which did not join the government. In this new phase, any government could be formed only with the participation or support of many regional parties. This applied to the National Front in 1989, the United Front in 1996 and 1997, the BJP-led coalition in 1998, the NDA in 1999, the UPA in 2004 and 2009. However, this trend changed in 2014.

Let us connect this development with what we have learnt so far. The era of coalition governments may be seen as a long-term trend resulting from relatively silent changes that were taking place over the last few decades.

We saw in Chapter Two that in earlier times, it was the Congress party itself that was a 'coalition' of different interests and different social strata and groups. This gave rise to the term 'Congress system'.

CENTRAL GOVERNMENTS SINCE 1989

V.P. Singh

Chandra Shekhar

P.V. Narasimha Rao

A. B. Vajpayee

H.D. Deve Gowda

I.K. Gujral

A.B. Vajpayee

Manmohan Singh

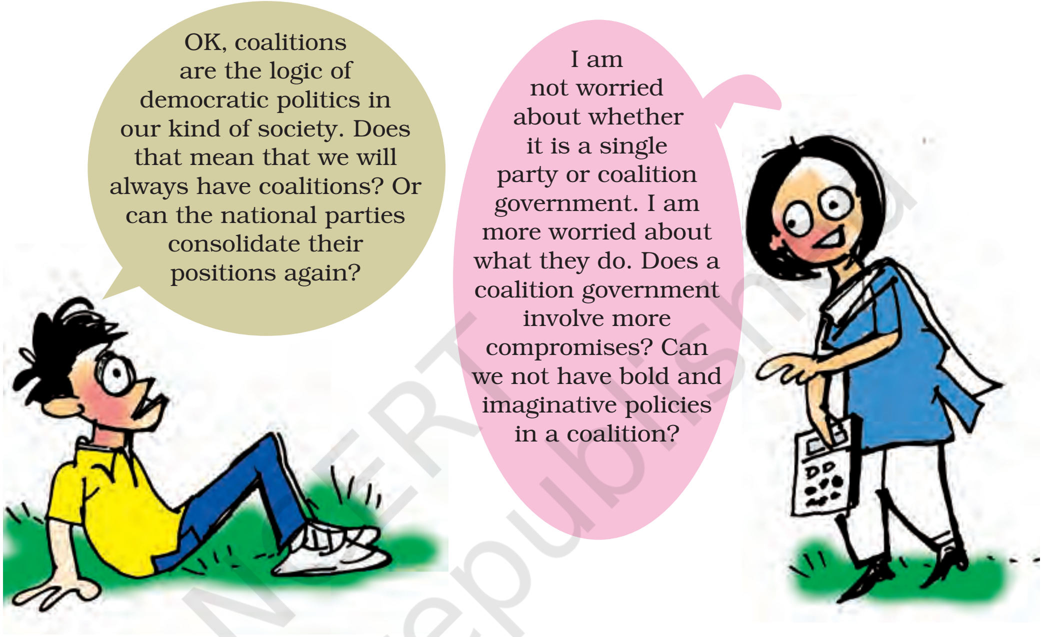
Narendra Modi

Period	Coalition/ Parties in Government
December **1989** November **1990**	**National Front (NF),** supported by Left Front and BJP
November **1990** June **1991**	**Section of NF** led by Samajwadi Janata Party; supported by Congress
June **1991** May **1996**	**Congress** supported by AIADMK and some smaller parties.
May **1996** June **1996**	**BJP** minority government
June **1996** April **1997**	**United Front** with Congress support
April **1997** March **1998**	**United Front** with Congress support
March **1998** October **1999** October **1999** May **2004**	National Democratic Alliance led by BJP
May 2004 May 2014	United Progressive Alliance led by Congress
May **2014** onwards	National Democratic Alliance led by BJP

For more details about the current and former Prime Ministers, visit http://pmindia.gov.in/en

Note: The blank space is for you to record more information on the major policies, performance and controversies about that government.

We also saw in Chapters that, especially since the late 1960s, various sections had been leaving the Congress fold and forming separate political parties of their own. We also noted the rise of many regional parties in the period after 1977. While these developments weakened the Congress party, they did not enable any single party to replace the Congress.

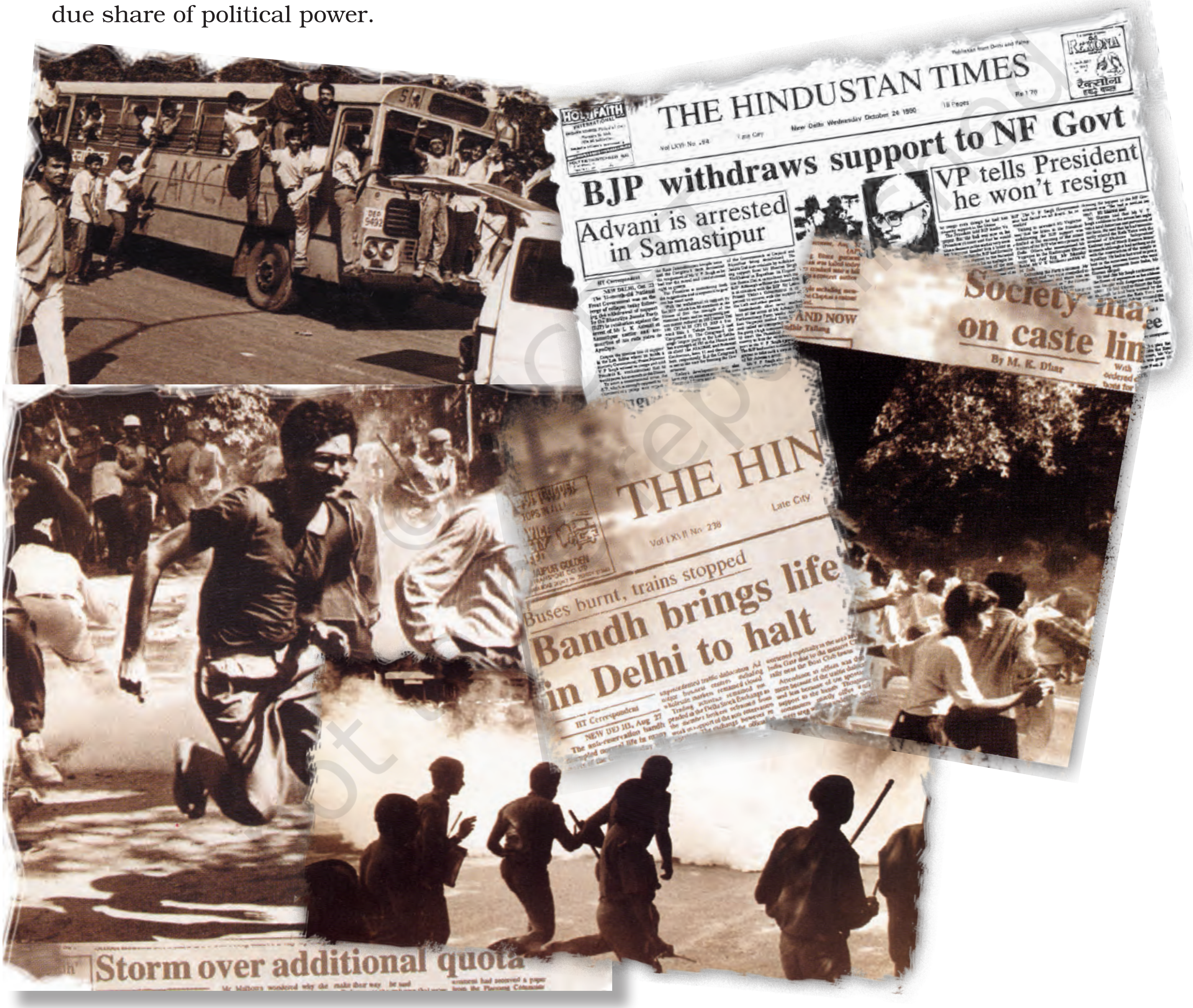

OK, coalitions are the logic of democratic politics in our kind of society. Does that mean that we will always have coalitions? Or can the national parties consolidate their positions again?
I am not worried about whether it is a single party or coalition government. I am more worried about what they do. Does a coalition government involve more compromises? Can we not have bold and imaginative policies in a coalition?
DD

Political Rise of Other Backward Classes

One long-term development of this period was the rise of Other Backward Classes as a political force. You have already come across this term 'OBC'. This refers to the administrative category 'Other Backward Classes'. These are communities other than SC and ST who suffer from educational and social backwardness. These are also referred to as 'backward castes'. We have already noted in Chapter Six that the support for the Congress among many sections of the 'backward castes' had declined. This created a space for non-Congress parties that drew more support from these communities. You would recall that the rise of these parties first found political expression at the national level in the form of the Janata Party government in 1977. Many of the constituents of the Janata Party, like the Bharatiya Kranti Dal and the Samyukta Socialist Party, had a powerful rural base among some sections of the OBC.

'Mandal' implemented

In the 1980s, the Janata Dal brought together a similar combination of political groups with strong support among the OBCs. The decision of the National Front government to implement the recommendations of the Mandal Commission further helped in shaping the politics of ‘Other Backward Classes’. The intense national debate for and against reservation in jobs made people from the OBC communities more aware of this identity. Thus, it helped those who wanted to mobilise these groups in politics. This period saw the emergence of many parties that sought better opportunities for OBCs in education and employment and also raised the question of the share of power enjoyed by the OBCs. These parties claimed that since OBCs constituted a large segment of Indian society, it was only democratic that the OBCs should get adequate representation in administration and have their due share of political power.



THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

New Delhi Wednesday October 24 1990

BJP withdraws support to NF Govt

VP tells President he won't resign

Advani is arrested in Samastipur

Society ma

on caste lin

By M. K. Dhar

THE HIN

Late City

Buses burnt, trains stopped

Bandh brings life in Delhi to halt

Storm over additional quota

Implementation of Mandal Commission report sparked off agitations and political upheavals.

The Mandal Commission

Reservations for the OBC were in existence in southern States since the 1960s, if not earlier. But this policy was not operative in north Indian States. It was during the tenure of Janata Party government in 1977-79 that the demand for reservations for backward castes in north India and at the national level was strongly raised. Karpoori Thakur, the then Chief Minister of Bihar, was a pioneer in this direction. His government had introduced a new policy of reservations for OBCs in Bihar. Following this, the central government appointed a Commission in 1978 to look into and recommend ways to improve the conditions of the backward classes. This was the second time since Independence that the government had appointed such a commission. Therefore, this commission was officially known as the Second Backward Classes Commission. Popularly, the commission is known as the Mandal Commission, after the name of its Chairperson, Bindeshwari Prasad Mandal.

भारत INDIA
300
बी.पी. मंडल
B.P. MANDAL
2001

B.P. Mandal (1918-1982): M.P. from Bihar for 1967-1970 and 1977-1979; chaired the Second Backward Classes Commission that recommended reservations for Other Backward Classes; a socialist leader from Bihar; Chief Minister of Bihar for just a month and a half in 1968; joined the Janata Party in 1977.

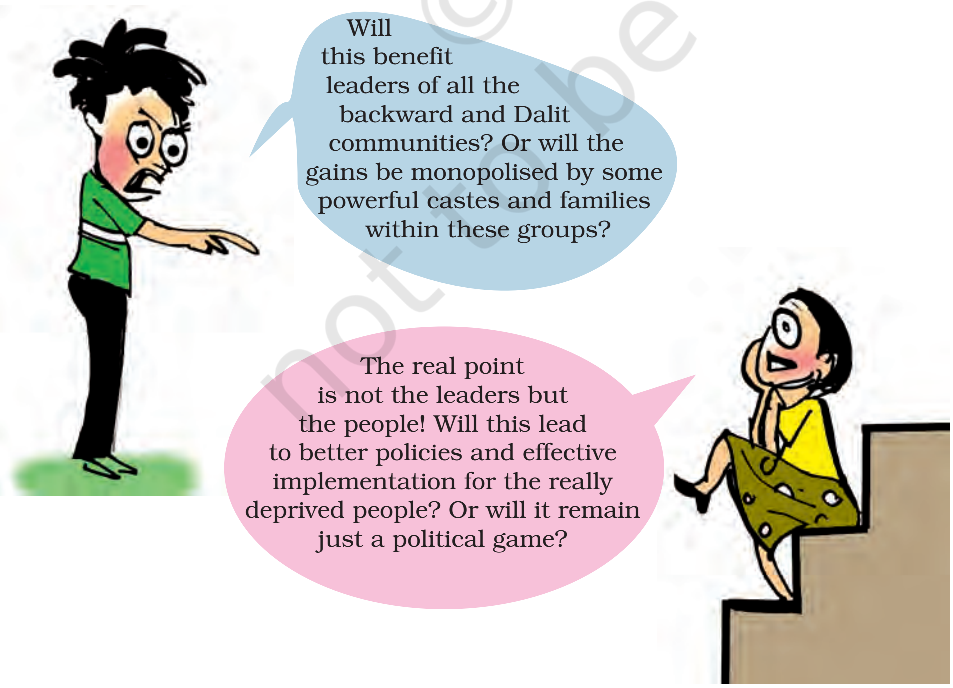
The Mandal Commission was set up to investigate the extent of educational and social backwardness among various sections of Indian society and recommend ways of identifying these 'backward classes'. It was also expected to give its recommendations on the ways in which this backwardness could be ended. The Commission gave its recommendations in 1980. By then the Janata government had fallen. The Commission advised that 'backward classes' should be understood to mean 'backward castes', since many castes, other than the Scheduled Castes, were also treated as low in the caste hierarchy. The Commission did a survey and found that these backward castes had a very low presence in both educational institutions and in employment in public services. It therefore recommended reserving 27 per cent of seats in educational institutions and government jobs for these groups. The Mandal Commission also made many other recommendations, like, land reform, to improve the conditions of the OBCs.

In August 1990, the National Front government decided to implement one of the recommendations of Mandal Commission pertaining to reservations for OBCs in jobs in the central government and its undertakings. This decision sparked agitations and violent protests in many cities of north India. The decision was also challenged in the Supreme Court and came to be known as the 'Indira Sawhney case', after the name of one of the petitioners. In November 1992, the Supreme Court gave a ruling upholding the decision of the government. There were some differences among political parties about the manner of implementation of this decision. But now the policy of reservation for OBCs has support of all the major political parties of the country.

Political fallouts

The 1980s also saw the rise of political organisation of the Dalits. In 1978 the Backward and Minority Communities Employees Federation (BAMCEF) was formed. This organisation was not an ordinary trade union of government employees. It took a strong position in favour of political power to the 'bahujan' – the SC, ST, OBC and minorities. It was out of this that the subsequent Dalit Shoshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti and later the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) emerged under the leadership of Kanshi Ram. The BSP began as a small party supported largely by Dalit voters in Punjab, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh. But in 1989 and the 1991 elections, it achieved a breakthrough in Uttar Pradesh. This was the first time in independent India that a political party supported mainly by Dalit voters had achieved this kind of political success.

In fact, the BSP, under Kanshi Ram's leadership was envisaged as an organisation based on pragmatic politics. It derived confidence from the fact that the Bahujans (SC, ST, OBC and religious minorities) constituted the majority of the population, and were a formidable political force on the strength of their numbers. Since then the BSP has emerged as a major political player in the State and has been in government on more than one occasion. Its strongest support still comes from Dalit voters, but it has expanded its support now to various other social groups. In many parts of India, Dalit politics and OBC politics have developed independently and often in competition with each other.


Will this benefit leaders of all the backward and Dalit communities? Or will the gains be monopolised by some powerful castes and families within these groups?
The real point is not the leaders but the people! Will this lead to better policies and effective implementation for the really deprived people? Or will it remain just a political game?

Kanshi Ram (1934-2006): Proponent of Bahujan empowerment and founder of Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP); left his central government job for social and political work; founder of BAMCEF, DS-4 and finally the BSP in 1984; astute political strategist, he regarded political power as master key to attaining social equality; credited with Dalit resurgence in north Indian States.

Communalism, Secularism, Democracy

The other long-term development during this period was the visible rise of politics based on religious identity leading to a debate about secularism and democracy. We noted in Chapter Six that in the aftermath of the Emergency, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh had merged with the Janata Party. After the fall of the Janata Party and its break-up, the supporters of erstwhile Jana Sangh formed the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in 1980. Initially, the BJP adopted a broader political platform than that of the Jana Sangh. BJP embraced 'Gandhian' Socialism' along with cultural nationalism as its ideology. But it did not get much success in the elections held in 1984. After 1986, the party began to emphasise nationalism as the core of its ideology. The BJP also pursued the politics of 'Hindutva' for political mobilisation.

Hindutva was popularised by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, as the basis of Indian nationhood. It basically meant that to be an Indian, one must accept India as their 'fatherland' (pitrubhu) as well as their holy land (punyabhu). Believers of 'Hindutva' argue that a strong nation can be built on the basis of a united national culture. They also believe that in the case of India, Hindutva can provide this base.

Two developments around 1986 became central to the politics of BJP. The first was the Shah Bano case in 1985. In this case a 62-year old divorced Muslim woman, had filed a case for maintenance from her former husband. The Supreme Court ruled in favour of Shah Bano. The orthodox Muslims saw the Supreme Court's order as an interference in Muslim Personal Law. On the demand of some Muslim leaders, the government passed the Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Act, 1986 that nullified the Supreme Court's judgement. This action of the government was opposed by many women's organisations, many Muslim groups and most of the intellectuals. The BJP criticised this action of the Congress government as an unnecessary concession and 'appeasement' of the minority community.

Do you know?

There is a very interesting incident dated November 28 1858, when Nihang Sikhs captured the Janmabhoomi site and performed Puja and Havan, before being forcibly ousted by colonial administration.

Ayodhya Issue

The Ayodhya issue, as the second significant development, was deeply rooted in socio- cultural and political history of the country pertaining to different perspectives from various stakeholders. It involved contentions regarding the birth place of Shri Ram, one of the most holy religious sites, and its legal ownership.

The significance of Ayodhya Ram Janmabhoomi site can be judged by the fact that the 500-year long history, starting from 1528, is marked by numerous conflicts which are also documented in Lucknow, Barabanki and Faizabad district Gazetteers. A three-dome structure was built at the site of Shri Ram's birth place in 1528, but the structure had visible display of Hindu symbols and relics in its interior as well as its exterior portions. Therefore, Ayodhya Ram Janmabhoomi issue got linked to the national pride in its ancient civilization. Over the years, this issue evolved into a prolonged legal battle, leading to the structure being sealed in 1949 due to the onset of court proceedings.

In 1986, the situation regarding the three-dome structure took a significant turn when the Faizabad (now Ayodhya) district court ruled to unlock the structure, allowing people to worship there. The dispute had been going on for many decades as it was believed that the three-dome structure was built at Shri Ram's birthplace after demolition of a temple. However, although *Shilaanyas* for the temple was done, further construction remained prohibited. The Hindu community felt that their concerns related to the birth place of Shri Ram were overlooked, while the Muslim community sought assurance of their possession over the structure. Subsequently, tensions heightened between both communities over ownership rights, resulting in numerous disputes and legal conflicts. Both communities desired a fair resolution to the longstanding issue. In 1992, following the demolition of the structure, some critics contended that it presented a substantial challenge to the principles of Indian democracy.

From Legal Proceedings to Amicable Acceptance

It is important to note that in any society conflicts are bound to take place. However, in a multi -religious and multi-cultural democratic society, these conflicts are usually resolved following the due process of law. Through a number of democratic and legal procedures including court hearings, mediation attempts, popular movements, and finally with a 5-0 verdict of a constitutional bench of the Supreme Court on November 9, 2019, the Ayodhya issue was resolved. This verdict sought to reconcile the conflicting interests of the various stakeholders involved in the dispute.

The verdict allotted the disputed site to the *Shri Ram Janmabhoomi Teertha Kshetra Trust* for the construction of Ram temple and directed the concerned government to allot appropriate site for the construction of a Mosque to the *Sunni Central Waqf Board*. In this way, democracy gives room for conflict resolution in a plural society like ours, upholding the inclusive spirit of the Constitution. This issue was resolved following the due process of law based on evidences such as archaeological excavations and historical records. The Supreme Court's decision was celebrated by the society at large. It is a classic example of consensus building on a sensitive issue that shows the maturity of democratic ethos which are civilizationally ingrained in India.

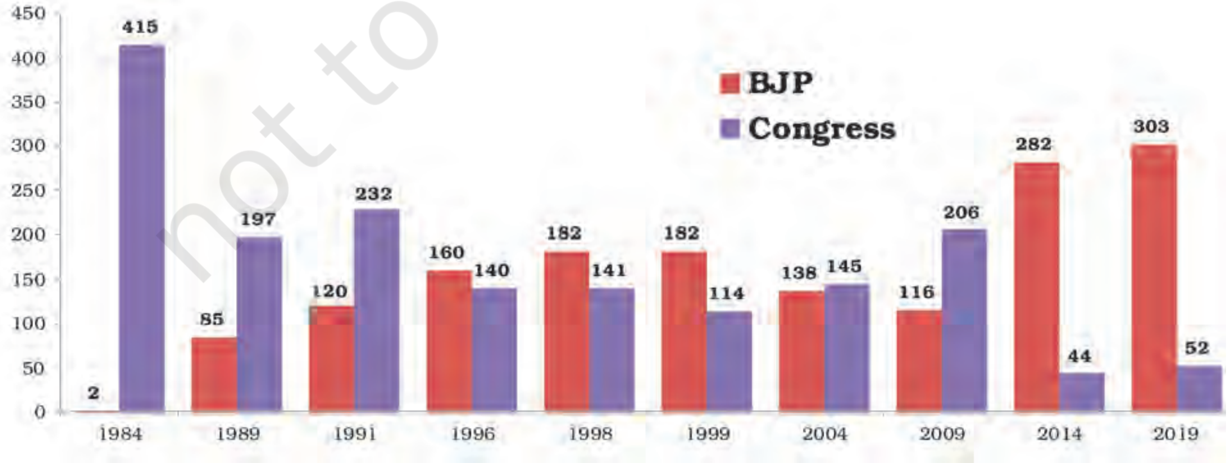
The excerpts referring to the Judgment of the constitutional Bench of the Supreme Court (November 9,2019)

> *"...At the heart of the Constitution is a commitment to equality upheld and enforced by the rule of law. Under our Constitution, citizens of all faiths, beliefs and creeds seeking divine provenance are both subject to the law and equal before the law. Every judge of this Court is not merely tasked with but sworn to uphold the Constitution and its values. The Constitution does not make a distinction between the faith and belief of one religion and another. All forms of belief, worship and prayer are equal..."*
>
> (For details see, Supreme Court Judgments, November 9, 2019, p. 920, https://main.sci.gov.in/supremecourt/2010/36350/36350_2010_1_1502_18205_Judgement_09-Nov-2019.pdf)
>
> *"It is thus concluded ... that faith and belief of Hindus since prior to construction of Mosque and subsequent thereto has always been that Janmaasthan of Lord Ram is the place where Babri Mosque has been constructed which faith and belief is proved by documentary and oral evidence discussed above."*
>
> (For details see, Supreme Court Judgments, November 9, 2019, p. 1045, https://main.sci.gov.in/supremecourt/2010/36350/36350_2010_1_1502_18205_Judgement_09-Nov-2019.pdf)

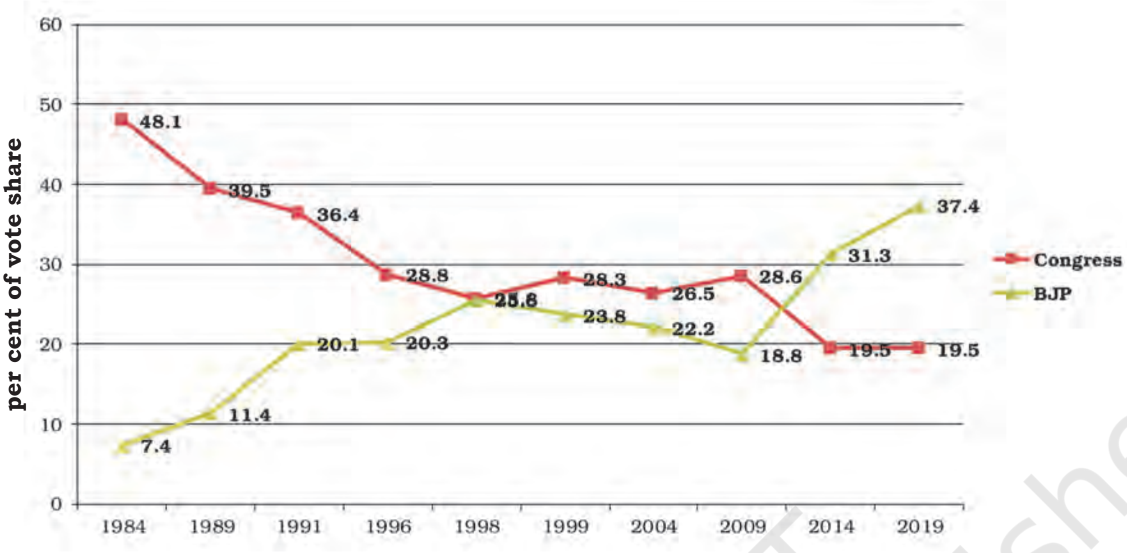
Emergence of a new consensus

The period after 1989 is seen sometimes as the period of decline of Congress and rise of BJP. If you want to understand the complex nature of political competition in this period, you have to compare the electoral performances of the Congress and the BJP.

Party Position (Number of seats won) in Lok Sabha



Vote Share



Now let us try to understand the meaning of the information given in the figure.

- You will notice that BJP and Congress were engaged in a tough competition in this period. What is the difference between their electoral fortunes if you compare these with the 1984 elections?
- You will notice that since the 1989 election, the votes polled by the two parties, Congress and the BJP, most of the time, add up to more than fifty per cent except in 1996, 2004 and 2009.
- Look at both the charts showing Congress and Janata 'family' of parties. Which among the parties that exist today are neither part of Congress family of parties nor part of Janata family of parties?
- The political competition during the nineties is divided between the coalition led by BJP and the coalition led by the Congress. Can you list the parties that are not part of any of these two coalitions?

Lok Sabha Elections (2004-2019)

In the elections of 2004, the Congress party too entered into coalitions in a big way. The National Democratic Alliance (NDA) was defeated and a new coalition government led by the Congress, known as the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) came to power. This government received support from the Left Front parties. The elections of 2004 also witnessed the partial revival of Congress party. It could increase its seats once again after 1991. However, in the 2004 elections, there was a negligible difference between the votes polled by the Congress and its allies and the BJP and its allies.

The Congress led UPA government completed its term despite Left parties withdrawing the support in July 2008 on the issue of Indo-US nuclear deal. Elections for 15th Lok Sabha were held in 2009. Results witnessed a rise in the number of seats (from 145 in 2004 to 206 in 2009) of the Indian National Congress (INC) and Congress led UPA Government. Dr. Manmohan Singh was sworn as Prime Minister for the second term, heading the coalition government of UPA again.

Bhartiya Janata Party declared Narendra Modi (then the Chief Minister of Gujrat) as its Prime Ministerial candidate in September 2013. BJP under the leadership of Narendra Modi got a clear majority in 16th Lok Sabha elections held in 2014. BJP won 282 seats on its own, becoming the first party to gain single party majority after 30 years. Despite single-party majority of its own, BJP did choose to form the NDA government with its coalition partners.

Year 2014 was a proverbial watershed moment of Indian politics. Narendra Modi led NDA government rapidly took decisions in social sector, foreign policy and economic policy.

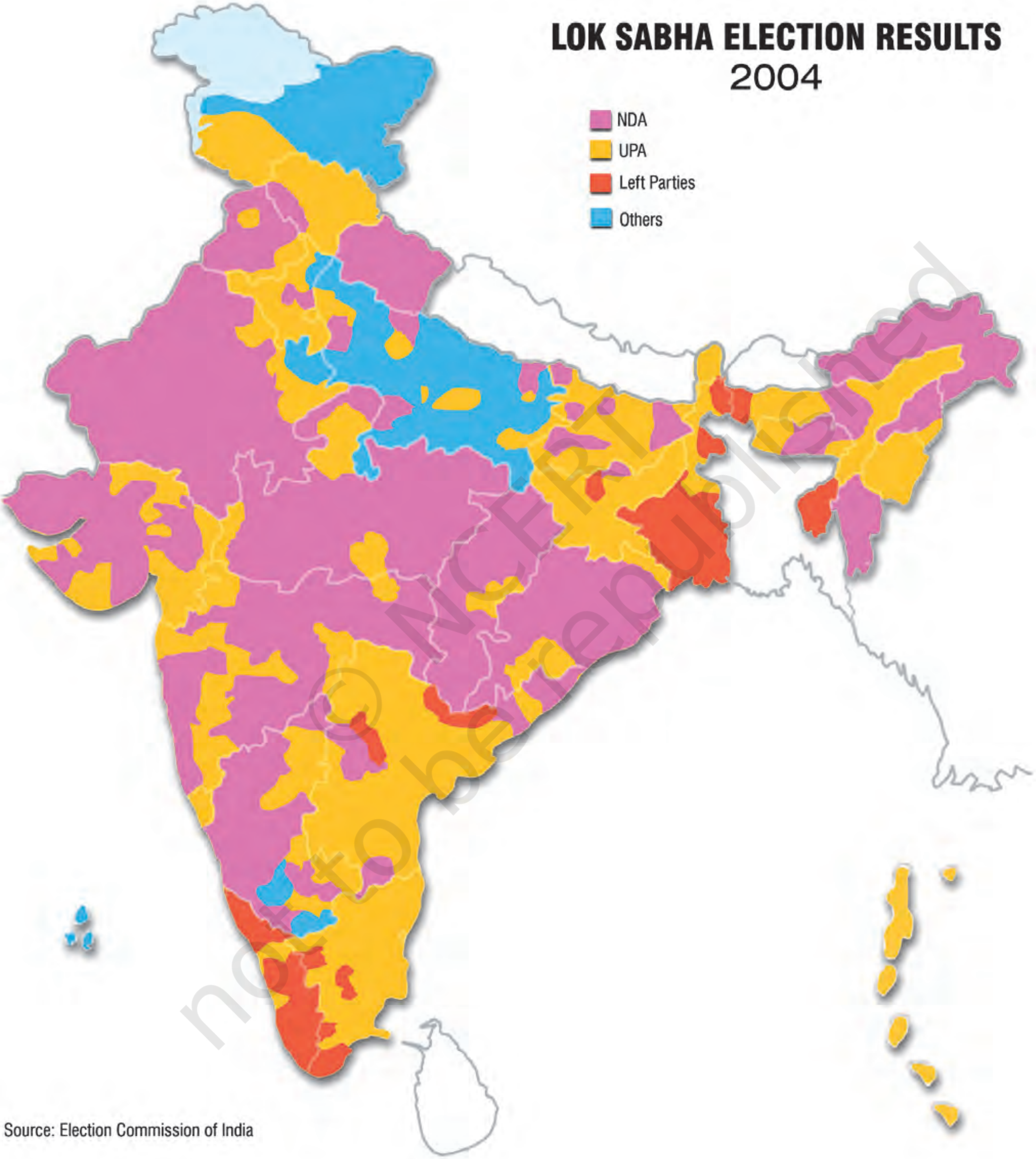
The BJP again emerged victorious with 303 seats of its own in 2019 Lok Sabha election. Even when BJP is getting full majority, the recognition of coalition politics is still relevant. Thus, the party system has now changed almost dramatically from what it was till the seventies.

Growing consensus

However, on many crucial issues, a broad agreement has emerged among most parties. In the midst of severe competition and many conflicts, a consensus appears to have emerged among most parties. This consensus consists of four elements.

First, agreement on new economic policies – while many groups are opposed to the new economic policies, most political parties are in support of the new economic policies. Most parties believe that these policies would lead the country to prosperity and a status of economic power in the world.

Second, acceptance of the political and social claims of the backward castes – political parties have recognised that the social and political claims of the backward castes need to be accepted. As a result, all political parties now support reservation of seats for the 'backward classes' in education and employment.


LOK SABHA ELECTION RESULTS
2004
NDA
UPA
Left Parties
Others

Source: Election Commission of India

Note: This illustration is not a map drawn to scale and should not be taken to be an authentic depiction of India's external boundaries.

not to be republished © NCERT

Political parties are also willing to ensure that the OBCs get adequate share of power.

Third, acceptance of the role of State level parties in governance of the country – the distinction between State level and national level parties is fast becoming less important. As we saw in this chapter, State level parties are sharing power at the national level and have played a central role in the country's politics of last twenty years or so.

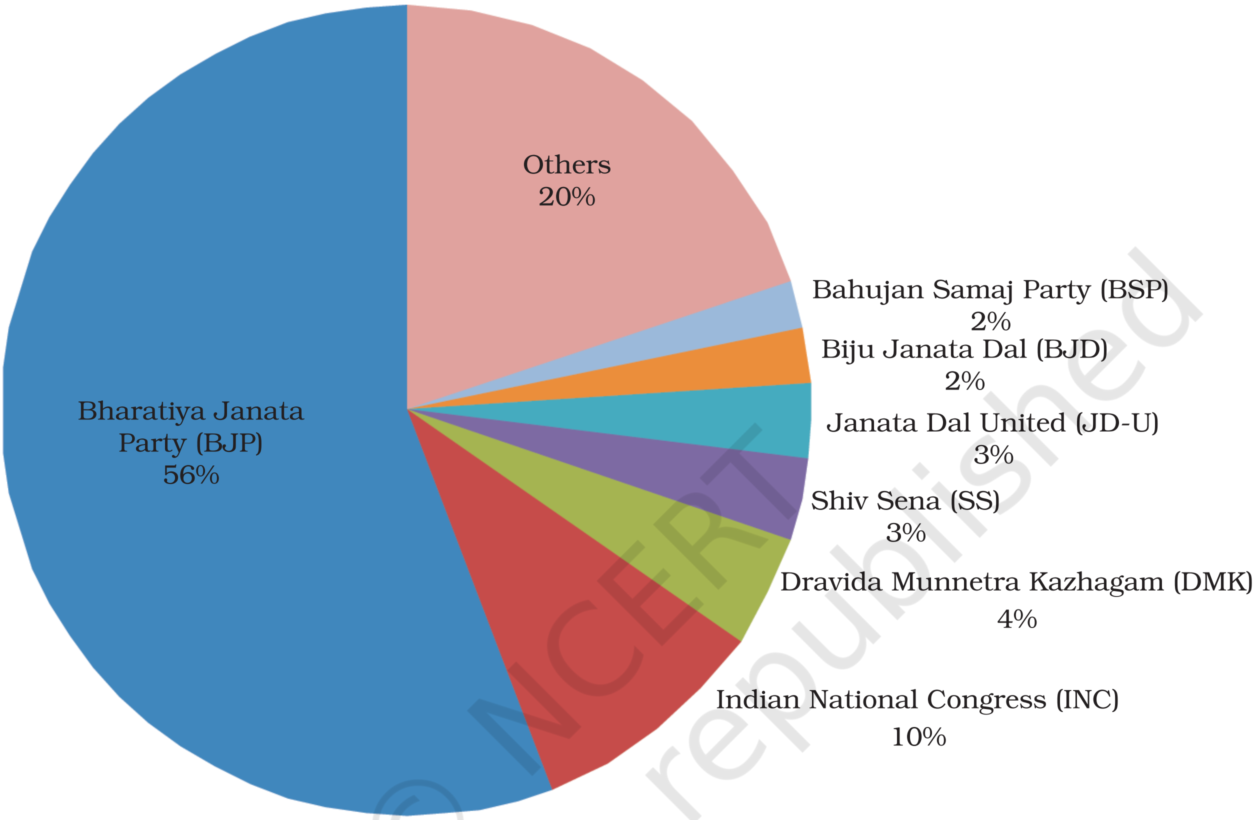
Fourth, emphasis on pragmatic considerations rather than ideological positions and political alliances without ideological agreement – coalition politics has shifted the focus of political parties from ideological differences to power sharing arrangements. Thus, most parties of the NDA did not agree with the 'Hindutva' ideology of the BJP. Yet, they came together to form a government and remained in power for a full term.

All these are momentous changes and are going to shape politics in the near future. We started this study of politics in India with the discussion of how the Congress emerged as a dominant party. From that situation, we have now arrived at a more competitive politics, but politics that is based on a certain implicit agreement among the main political actors. Thus, even as political parties act within the sphere of this consensus, popular movements and organisations are simultaneously identifying new forms, visions and pathways of development. Issues like poverty, displacement, minimum wages, livelihood and social security are being put on the political agenda by peoples' movements, reminding the state of its responsibility. Similarly, issues of justice and democracy are being voiced by the people in terms of class, caste, gender and regions. We cannot predict the future of democracy. All we know is that democratic politics is here to stay in India and that it will unfold through a continuous churning of some of the factors mentioned in this chapter.

As you know around the time of India's independence, many other countries also became independent and adopted democracy. However, even India emerged as a mature democracy playing a great role in promoting social equality and national development, the same has not been the case in some of those countries.

Discuss amongst yourselves the factors that have enabled democracy to thrive in India.

Party Position in 17th Lok Sabha



🟦	Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)	303
🟥	Indian National Congress (INC)	52
🟩	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK)	24
🟪	Shiv Sena (SS)	18
🟦	Janata Dal (United) [JD(U)]	16
🟧	Biju Janata Dal (BJD)	12
🟦	Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)	10
🟥	Other Parties	108

Source: http://loksabha.nic.in

EXERCISES

1. Unscramble a bunch of disarranged press clipping file of Unni-Munni… and arrange the file chronologically.
    - (a) Implementation of the recommendation of the Mandal Commission
    - (b) Formation of the Janata Dal
    - (c) Supreme court Judgment on the Ram Janmabhoomi
    - (d) Assassination of Indira Gandhi
    - (e) The formation of NDA government
    - (f) Formation of the UPA government

2. Match the following.

(a) Politics of Consensus	i. Shah Bano case
(b) Caste based parties	ii. Rise of OBCs
(c) Personal Law and Gender Justice	iii. Coalition government
(d) Growing strength of Regional parties	iv. Agreement on Economic policies

3. State the main issues in Indian politics in the period after 1989. What different configurations of political parties these differences lead to?
4. "In the new era of coalition politics, political parties are not aligning or re-aligning on the basis of ideology." What arguments would you put forward to support or oppose this statement?
5. Trace the emergence of BJP as a significant force in post-Emergency politics.
6. In spite of the decline of Congress dominance, the Congress party continues to influence politics in the country. Do you agree? Give reasons.
7. Many people think that a two-party system is required for successful democracy. Drawing from India's experience of last 30 years, write an essay on what advantages the present party system in India has.
8. Read the passage and answer the questions below:

    Party politics in India has confronted numerous challenges. Not only has the Congress system destroyed itself, but the fragmentation of the Congress coalition has triggered a new emphasis on self-representation which raises questions about the party system and its capacity to accommodate diverse interests, …. . An important test facing the polity is to evolve a party system or political parties that can effectively articulate and aggregate a variety of interests. — ZOYA HASAN

    - (a) Write a short note on what the author calls challenges of the party system in the light of what you have read in this chapter.
    - (b) Given an example from this chapter of the lack of accommodation and aggregation mentioned in this passage.
    - (c) Why is it necessary for parties to accommodate and aggregate variety of interests?

LET US DO IT TOGETHER

- This chapter covers the major developments in Indian politics until the 2004 Elections (14th Lok Sabha). Subsequently, the Lok Sabha elections were held in 2009, during which the UPA led by the Congress won. In the 2014 and 2019 Elections, the NDA led by the BJP emerged victorious. The position of various parties in the 17th Lok Sabha is given on page 155.
- A detailed study of Members of the 17th Lok Sabha is available on the website of the Lok Sabha (http://loksabha.nic.in).
- Compare and contrast the electoral performances of various political parties since 2004. The table given below can be used for this. You can also collect the data about the results from the website of the Election Commission of India (http://eci.nic.in).
- Prepare a timeline of the major political events in India since 2004. Share and discuss it in your classroom.

Party Positions in Indian Parliament since 2004

	Party	2004	2009	2014	2019
1	Aam Aadmi Party (AAP)	-	-	4	1
2	All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK)	0	9	37	1
3	Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)	19	21	-	10
4	Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)	138	116	282	303
5	Biju Janata Dal (BJD)	11	14	20	12
6	Communist Party of India – Marxist (CPI-M)	43	16	9	3
7	Communist Party of India (CPI)	10	4	1	2
8	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK)	16	18	-	24
9	Indian National Congress(INC)	145	206	44	52
10	Janata Dal - United (JD -U)	8	20	2	16
11	Janata Dal -Secular (JD - S)	3	3	2	1
12	Lok Jan Shakti Party (LJSP)	4	-	6	6
13	Nationalist Congress Party (NCP)	9	9	6	5
14	Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD)	24	4	4	-
15	Rashtriya Lok Dal (RLD)	3	5	1	-
16	Samajwadi Party (SP)	36	23	5	5
17	Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD)	8	4	4	2
18	Shiv Sena (SS)	12	11	18	18
19	Others	54	60	98	82
	Total	543	543	543	543

Total Seats in Indian Parliament : 543 (530 from States and 13 from UTs)

EXERCISES

केन्द्रीय सतर्कता आयोग
CENTRAL VIGILANCE COMMISSION

सत्यनिष्ठा प्रतिज्ञा
INTEGRITY PLEDGE

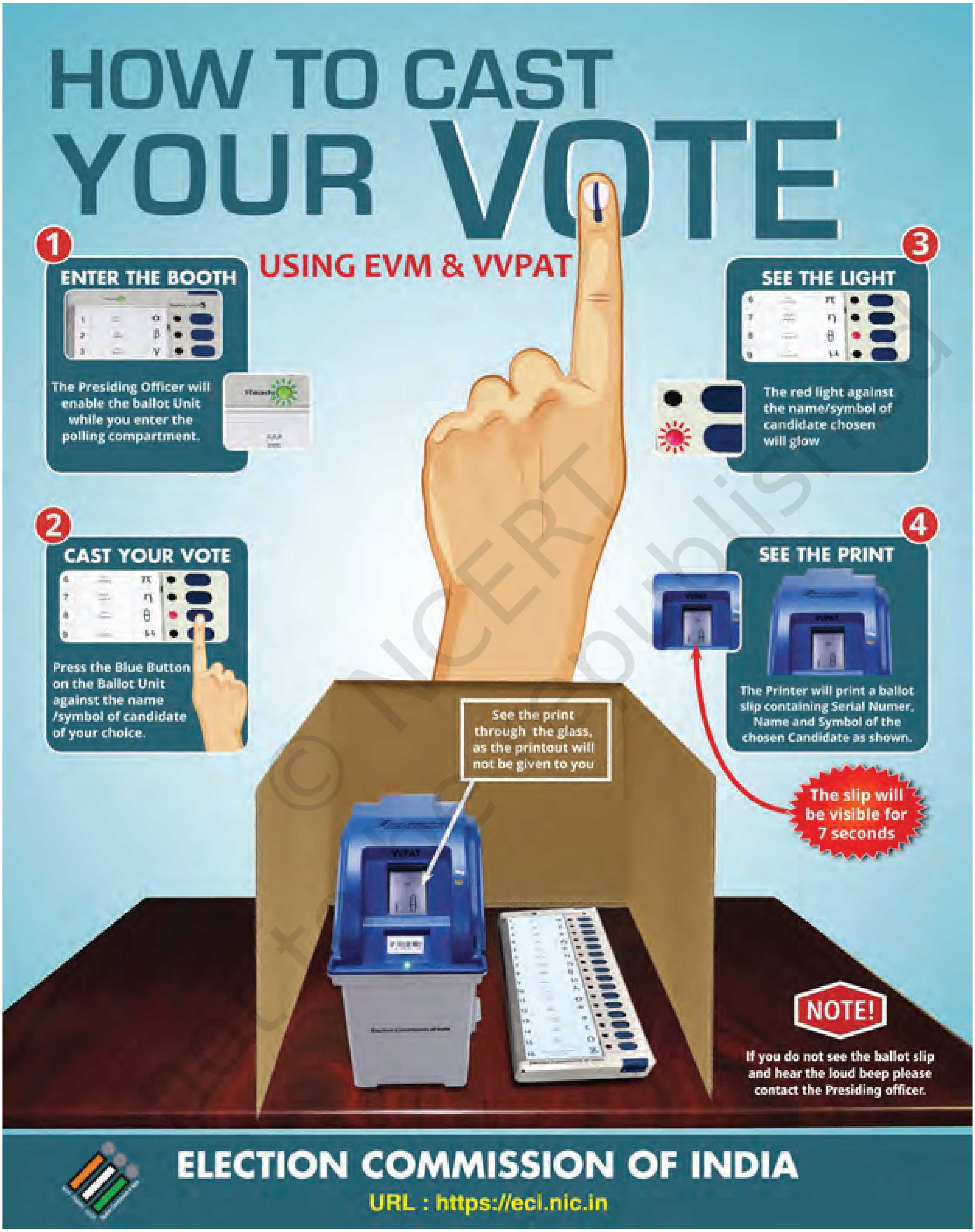
I believe that corruption has been one of the major obstacles to economic, political and social progress of our country. I believe that all stakeholders such as Government, citizens and private sector need to work together to eradicate corruption.

I realise that every citizen should be vigilant and commit to highest standards of honesty and integrity at all times and support the fight against corruption.

I, therefore, pledge:

- To follow probity and rule of law in all walks of life;
- To neither take nor offer bribe;
- To perform all tasks in an honest and transparent manner;
- To act in public interest;
- To lead by example exhibiting integrity in personal behaviour;
- To report any incident of corruption to the appropriate agency.

For details about the Central Vigilance Commission (CVC), log on to www.cvc.nic.in



HOW TO CAST YOUR VOTE

USING EVM & VVPAT

1 ENTER THE BOOTH

The Presiding Officer will enable the ballot Unit while you enter the polling compartment.

2 CAST YOUR VOTE

Press the Blue Button on the Ballot Unit against the name /symbol of candidate of your choice.

3 SEE THE LIGHT

The red light against the name/symbol of candidate chosen will glow

4 SEE THE PRINT

The Printer will print a ballot slip containing Serial Numer, Name and Symbol of the chosen Candidate as shown.

The slip will be visible for 7 seconds

See the print through the glass, as the printout will not be given to you

NOTE!

If you do not see the ballot slip and hear the loud beep please contact the Presiding officer.

ELECTION COMMISSION OF INDIA

URL : https://eci.nic.in

Source: Election Commission of India

Notes

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